

MEMOIR
OF
THE PUBLIC CONDUCT
AND
SERVICES
OF
WILLIAM COLLINS JACKSON, Esq.
LATE SENIOR MERCHANT
ON THE
COMPANY'S MADRAS ESTABLISHMENT.

“ It is, I believe, an established maxim of free Governments, that acts of Injustice, Tyranny, or Oppression, perpetrated against any Member of the Community, although, as facts, they may only affect him individually, as Precedents equally affect them all. What is my case to day, may be another Man's case to-morrow. The injuries of the Individual are therefore the cause of the Community; and as it is his duty to resist, so it is their province to punish, every undue exercise of Authority.”

“ I am afraid that no one will be found hereafter, hardy enough to attempt a Counteraction of THIS INTEREST, when the History of what I have suffered, in consequence, shall be made known. No man will risk, even the temporary loss of Reputation, by the insidious attacks of calumny, when he can so easily avoid it, by going with the stream.”—*Mr. Jackson's Letter to the Court of Directors, 16th Nov. 1802.*

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OF THE
PROPRIETORS
OF
EAST INDIA STOCK.

PREFACE.

IN submitting the following Memoir to the Proprietors of East India Stock, the Masters whom I had so long, and I will say, so honorably served, I am not influenced, if I know myself, by any other consideration than that which arises from a very natural desire to place before them, a true and faithful history of my public conduct in their service, to the end, that they may have the fairest opportunity of judging for themselves, whether my pretensions to their favor, as a Candidate for the Direction, be of a nature to justify the grant of their suffrages. *Many* of them are aware that the Press has been engaged in an attempt to stigmatize my character; and it is, therefore, fitting, that *ALL* of them should know, upon what ground accusation was preferred, and in what way I was able to repel it. The subject, indeed, is of vital importance, for it is inseparably linked with matter, that must

PREFACE.

come home to the feelings of every one, yet unaccustomed to the yoke of despotism. The annals of the world cannot, perhaps, produce stronger evidence of gross oppression, and systematic persecution ; but, after all, the wonder is not so much that such things should be, where tyranny HAD no limit, as that the meditated victim could escape destruction.

W. COLLINS JACKSON.

*Gloucester Place, Portman Square,
19th March 1812.*

MEMOIR,

&c. &c.

At the age of eighteen, Mr. Jackson was nominated a Writer, in the Service of the East-India Company, on the Establishment of Fort St. George. Being, at the time of his appointment, on the other side of the Atlantic, he did not embark for India until March 1731. The naval action at Port Praya (in which the British Fleet acquired neither honor nor advantage,) and the projected Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope (which was frustrated by the extraordinary activity of the heroic Suffrein) so much retarded the voyage to India, that Mr. Jackson did not reach Madras until the month of October 1732; and then, in the midst of a raging famine, the consequence of Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic. The ship on which he embarked, was destined for Madras; but, for the reasons above stated, she lost the favourable season, and was compelled to bear away for the Coast of Arabia. Mr. Jackson afterwards proceeded to Bombay, where he remained nearly six months, and chiefly at his own expense: and when at length he landed at Madras, such was the reduced state of the Company's finances, that he had no means of subsistence, for one entire year, except by

borrowing money at an exorbitant interest, or by drawing for the little property which had devolved to him in England, by the death of a near and dear relation. Anxious to be independent of native soucars, he preferred the latter; and by this step alone, he secured himself from those entanglements, which so often have been the bane of the younger servants of the Company. It is strictly the fact, that during the whole period of his residence in India, he had no debt which was not discharged on demand.

Towards the close of the year 1783, Mr. Jackson was selected by Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, to fill the post of Secretary to an Embassy, then appointed, to negotiate a Peace with the Son and Successor of Hyder Ally. After many difficulties, principally arising from a want of harmony among the Commissioners, a Treaty was concluded at Mangalore, which obtained the approbation of His Majesty's and the Company's Governments. It was the good fortune of Mr. Jackson, so to conduct himself, on this delicate and trying occasion, as to receive, from the majority of the Commissioners, very honorable testimonials in his favor; but it was not judged necessary to attach either pay or allowances to the station, which he had filled with honor and credit. The amount of his actual disbursements only were repaid to him; and even this did not take place until nearly two years after the termination of the Mission.

Sir George Staunton, the confidential friend of Lord Macartney, and the second Commissioner on the Embassy, wrote, on the eve of his departure for England, the following letter to Mr. Jackson:—

SIR,—It gives me great concern, that there can be no opportunity for my declaring personally, and in detail, to the Select

Committee, my sense of the manner in which you acquitted yourself of the office of Secretary to the late Embassy to Tippoo Sultaun; because, I fear, that a general declaration of your honorable and assiduous conduct throughout, will not do you as much justice as would follow from a more circumstantial account. But I wish to convey, what I feel, the fullest approbation.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

GEORGE LEONARD STAUNTON.

Fort St. George, 28th July, 1784.

Mr. Hudleston, the third Commissioner, gave his testimony, at the same time, "to the rectitude and integrity of every part of Mr. Jackson's conduct;" declaring his firm belief, from what he had seen and known, that Mr. Jackson "would be incapable of acting upon any other principles."

Mr. Jackson succeeded to the office of Under Secretary to the Government of Madras in the year 1785. At this time, he had expended the whole of the Legacy to which he had become entitled by the Will of his relation; and if it had not been for this bequest, he must have borrowed money, at a ruinous interest, for his ordinary expenses, inasmuch as he had devoted himself entirely to the service of the Company, avoiding all mercantile speculations; and because the highest salary which he had hitherto received, amounted only to twenty pagodas per mensem, or about ninety-six pounds sterling per annum, paid in arrear, and by bills at a discount.

Mr. Jackson filled the station of Under Secretary between six and seven years, and with so much approbation both at home and abroad, that the Directors conferred upon him the appointment of Chief Secretary, when they were unacquainted with the fact, that he was exer-

cising the duties of that office, under the nomination of the Government in India. "In the appointment of Mr. Jackson to be your Secretary," observe the Directors, "you have *anticipated* our orders, which were founded upon the repeated testimonials of his merits and abilities."

In an Affidavit transmittted by the Madras Government in the year 1792, it was expressly stated, that "large sums of money had at different times been offered to Mr. Jackson, and as often rejected: that he had, to the best of his ability and understanding, faithfully discharged the duties of the several stations which he had filled in the Service; and that he had not, to the best of his knowledge and belief, participated in, or derived any advantage from, other means than those, which had fallen to him in the course of the Service, by the salaries and avowed emoluments annexed to the several offices, which he had filled by appointment, since his arrival in the East Indies." This had been his line of conduct, under the most solid conviction, that to acquire independence (and particularly in an office surrounded by temptation) by other means, would be no less dishonourable to himself, than injurious to the public welfare. It appeared, that his whole time and attention, up to the date of the Affidavit, had been exclusively devoted to the Company's affairs; that, he entered into no commercial speculations, nor *usurious* dealings with any of the tributaries of the Carnatic; that he was not in the pay either of the Nabob Mahommed Ally, or the Rajah of Tanjore, although he had been strenuously invited by the emissaries of these Princes, upon his succession to the office of Chief Secretary, to receive, from each, a monthly stipend of five hundred pagodas; and that, acting upon these principles of self-denial, in every matter where money was concerned, the influence which his station commanded, could not fail

to operate, in a way highly beneficial, to the interests of the East India Company.

In a letter which Mr. Jackson received, not long ago, from a gentleman who had been in habits of the strictest confidence with the Nabob Mahommed Ally, and immediately about his person at the time the above mentioned offer was made, there is the following passage :—

“ In addition to my knowledge of your abilities, honor, and integrity, I had heard that when you, in an eminent degree, filled the situation as Secretary to Government, the Nabob of the Carnatic did make you an offer of 500 pagodas per mensem, provided you would devote your services to him ; which you, as a man of honor, and justice to your Honorable Masters, most nobly declined.”

From the situation of the writer of the preceding extract, he must have known, if any money had ever been received. A similar offer, as already stated, came about the same time, and to the same amount, from the Rajah of Tanjore. These facts can be established upon oath, if necessary. The net amount on this account alone, during the period which Mr. Jackson held the Secretaryship, would have been 84,000 star pagodas, or 33,600*l.* sterling. He certainly claims no extraordinary merit for the rejection of such offers, and all such he invariably did reject ; but it proves, at least, a disinterestedness of public conduct, which entitled him to some consideration *at home*. *

Such indeed was the opinion entertained by *five* successive Governments, of his integrity and general merits, that, year after year, the warmest approbation was recorded ; while no opportunity was neglected, of drawing the attention of the Directors, to the real policy of

* Vide Appendix [A.]

bestowing some mark of favor upon a man (beyond the mere expression of approbation—a very unsubstantial food) who had served them with so much fidelity, and whose health had been made the sacrifice of official assiduity.

In the year 1796, Mr. Jackson found his constitution so much impaired, that he was compelled to think seriously of retiring from the laborious duties of his station. He announced his intention to Government, and was honored with the following communication :—

TO WILLIAM COLLINS JACKSON, ESQ.

SECRETARY IN THE MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND SECRET
DEPARTMENTS.

SIR,—We have received your Letter of the 8th instant, and are concerned to find, that the state of your health will not enable you to continue your services in the station which you have so long held, with great credit to yourself, with perfect satisfaction to your immediate Superiors, and with no less advantage to the interests of the Company.

We, with pleasure, embrace this opportunity of expressing our entire approbation, of the zeal and fidelity which have uniformly marked your conduct, in the department of Military and Political Secretary to this Government; and we shall take the earliest occasion of repeating to the Honourable Court of Directors, the sense we entertain of your merits and services.

Should the resignation of Mr. Powney occur, during the present administration, we shall very cheerfully acquiesce in your request to succeed to the office of Collector of Polygar Peishcush.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

HOBART,
ALURED CLARKE,
EDWARD SAUNDERS,
E. W. FALLOFIELD.

Fort St. George, 10th June 1796.

Early in the following year, Mr. Jackson resigned his appointment of Secretary, and succeeded to the office of Superintendent of the Southern Provinces of the Carnatic. On this occasion, he received the Thanks of Government, for his tried and distinguished services ; and the following communication was made to the Court of Directors :—

“ We are sorry to acquaint your Honourable Court, that Mr. Jackson, our Secretary, has felt himself under the necessity, on account of ill health, to relinquish the office he has so long held, with great credit to himself, perfect satisfaction to every Government under which he has served, and no less advantage to the interests of the Company.

“ The zeal and fidelity which have uniformly marked the conduct of this Gentleman, in the department of Military and Political Secretary, have, at different times, been reported to you ; and we now declare, that he not only merits our warmest encomiums, but is equally entitled to your approbation.

“ He has applied to succeed Mr. Powney, in the office of Collector of Polygar Peishcush ; a situation, in which his zeal, abilities, and tried integrity, must prove highly beneficial to the Company's interests.

“ We send, in the packet, a copy of his letter to us, and of our reply. The latter will evince to your Honourable Court, the sense we entertain of his merits and services.”

· The following is a copy of the Resolution of Government, bearing date the 3d of March, 1797 :—

The Board, in accepting the resignation of Mr. Jackson, conceive that they cannot afford a stronger proof of the sense they entertain of his merits, as well in respect to integrity, as the most assiduous attention to the duties of his office, during a long course of service, than by adverting, in this place, to the repeated testimonials, which the records exhibit in his favor—Resolved, therefore, That the Thanks of this Board be now given to him for his

services, and that they be recommended to the favorable attention of the Company.

By Order of the Governor in Council,

J. WEBBE,

Secretary to Government.

Having shewn what was Mr. Jackson's conduct, during nearly sixteen years of active service, in situations of great trust and responsibility; it will now be necessary to follow him into the Southern Provinces, and to examine his proceedings in the new station to which he had succeeded.

It may, however, be useful to premise, that, when Mr. Jackson entered upon this office, he did expect that his future proceedings would be appreciated by the standard of his past conduct. He was deaf to the cry which resounded from all parts—“*Beware of the Board of Revenue!*” What had he to fear? He, who had invariably been governed by principles, which had established for him an integrity of conduct of the highest order, in situations of the highest trust? Besides, one of the Members of that Board was then his sworn friend, who would (as he supposed) view with a just, if not with a partial eye, the proceedings of the man whom it had been his boast to praise.—Fatal delusion! In overturning a system, “in which conscience was lulled to rest, by the delusive opiate of interest upon interest,” he fell within the grasp of a second Hydra—a monster, well and ably described in the two minutes of Lord Hobart, the then Governor of Madras, and to which the Reader's attention is most earnestly solicited, before he proceeds further in this Memoir. They will be found in the Appendix, marked [B.] and [C.]

Throughout the Southern Pollams, the same atrocious system prevailed, and occasioned similar “devastation and decay,” as had marked its progress in the Carnatic and Tanjore Countries; for, although the Polygars were under

the immediate controul and authority of the Company, and had been so since the Treaty of 1792, still the Usurer tendered his services, and, by indulging them in all the means wherewith to continue their licentious pleasures, possessed and commanded the most unbounded influence over their minds. The Noble Lord at the head of the Madras Government, spared no pains in directing the attention of the new Collector, to the necessity of striking at the root of this pernicious evil. He reminded him of the two Minutes which had been entered on the subject, and expressed his firm persuasion, that the period was at length arrived, when some effectual check would be given to a practice of such fatal consequence to the public welfare. "From the zeal, abilities, and tried integrity," said his Lordship, "which have marked your conduct in the Service, I have confident hope, that, through your means, the primary step will be taken for the overthrow of this powerful and destructive engine; and in all your measures for the accomplishment of this great work, you may fully and entirely rely on my warmest support."

The recorded sentiments of the Governor of Madras, clearly evince, that he did not, of himself, possess the means, "to avert the consequence of an evil, big with such immediate danger." It appears from his own statement, that "the Acts of the British Legislature, with respect to usurious loans—the reiterated orders of the Company on the subject—and the iniquity of such transactions, had had so little effect, that he scarcely knew what to suggest, as a means of future prevention." He afterwards considered, that it might be accomplished, if he were strenuously supported by the new Collector, who was not only in knowledge of the subject, as it had been reviewed by his Lordship; but who possessed a resolution (as will be seen hereafter) to encounter, "the numerous enemies

who would start up against him." The public energy of the Collector, united with the powerful protection of the Governor, could alone secure this great and important service; but even, in this union, the danger to the former could not be contemplated without a feeling of serious alarm. His principles of public duty, however, were paramount to every sense of personal consideration; and he entered upon the task, unappalled by the number of the party, who, on the least alarm, "rally round a common center," breaking down, or overleaping, all "the bounds of discretion, and of moral obligation."

It will be admitted, that these were considerations, that would have offered an insuperable barrier to a weak and undetermined character. No Servant of the Company had then been found, with a disposition to hazard such serious peril; and when at length one was found, who did oppose himself to this mighty torrent, he was not only neglected and deserted by his "natural guardians;" but suffered to be borne down and crushed, by the rancour and malice of an insatiate cabal, whose "arrows," *levelled at him*, were not "blunted," nor were their efforts "impotent" or "unavailing."

Mr. Jackson reached his station on the 12th of March 1797, and on the same day transmitted a letter to each of the Polygars placed under his authority, of which the following is an extract:—

"Mr. Powney has announced to you my arrival at Ramnad, and notified my appointment to succeed him in the office of Collector of Polygar Peishcush."

"I am now to acquaint you, that having received charge of the office, all representations are in future to be made to me."

"You will take especial care, that your public engagements to the Company are punctually fulfilled, for I will admit of no excuse for a want of attention to this object; and you may rest satisfied,

that, while you conduct yourself with proper respect towards the Company, and give no cause of complaint for any act of aggression towards the neighbouring Polygars, or of oppression over the inhabitants under your immediate authority, you will, at all times, find me disposed to befriend you: But any failure on your part, will inevitably lead to consequences ruinous to yourself, since you cannot be ignorant of what is required of you, and know full well, that so long as your conduct be correct, every support will be afforded."

" I think it necessary further to acquaint you, that it is my positive determination to prevent, by every possible means, the continuance of a practice, which, I am informed, is prevalent among the Polygars, of borrowing money from Europeans, and others, at an enormous interest. You are clearly to understand that this pernicious custom is to cease; that, in future, it will not be admitted, under any pretence; and that, if it should come to my knowledge, that, notwithstanding this interdiction, you should be so wanting to yourself, as to engage in loans of money, I shall not fail to report the same to the Government of Madras, as an act of disobedience on your part, together with the names of all the persons concerned in such transactions."

With a view to prevent the possibility of the Collector's determination, on the subject of money-dealings, being unknown to any of the parties concerned, he caused the orders he had issued to the Polygars, to be publicly read in the Malabar language, in three different parts of the town of Ramnad, before an assembly of the people, convened for the purpose, by the public crier.

It is essential, that particular attention should be paid to the *preliminary* step adopted by the Collector, for the suppression of usurious loans. It will be seen, that his conduct was widely different from that of a person who came to discover what *had* passed. The orders issued by him breathed a different sentiment. He would have nothing to do with what had gone by. " You are clearly

to understand," said he to the Polygars, " that this pernicious custom is to cease ; that, *in future*, it will not be permitted under any pretence ; and that, if it should come to my knowledge, that notwithstanding this interdiction, you should be so wanting to yourself, as to engage in loans of money, I shall not fail to report the same to the Government of Madras, as an act of disobedience on your part, *together with the names of all the persons concerned in such transactions.*" Nothing, in his estimation, could be more open or candid than this mode of proceeding. No one could fairly plead ignorance of his intentions—yet, a month had not elapsed, when his authority was insulted in the grossest manner ; not clandestinely, but publicly, and in the broad face of day. Emissaries of European creditors were sent to different parts of the country, charged with orders *to arrest* the persons of the Polygars, and to compel a settlement of accounts founded in usury and extortion, and contracted in utter contempt of the reiterated orders of the Company, and directly in the teeth of a solemn act of the British Legislature. Besides the orders thus given to the emissaries, they were intrusted with letters to the Polygars, one of which ran as follows:—

" You cannot be ignorant that Mr. ——— had not only represented to Mr. Powney, *but also to the Governor of Madras*, of the money transactions with you, and of what is passing. The particulars of what had passed were communicated by Mr. Powney to your Vackeel, for your information. It would therefore be proper in you to obviate what may take place, by immediately discharging what you owe, together with the interest ; and by paying * to the Conicopoly and Peons, who are now sent to you, their batta, conformable to your promissory note. In the event

* See the 11th Paragraph of Lord Hobart's Minute, dated the 24th October 1795, Appendix [B.]

of your not complying with our desire, we shall endeavour, in concert with Mr. ———, to adopt measures *to divest you of your Pollam*, and retain possession of it, until the demand on you be fully paid. Know this—and be not backward in discharging the whole demand on you.”

The Collector, upon receiving information of what was going forward, wrote to the Polygar, to whom the preceding letter was addressed, in the following terms :—

“ Your Vackeel has acquainted me with the purport of your oleh to him of the 24th instant, and, in consequence thereof, I judge it necessary to direct, that you immediately order every man out of your Pollam, whom you report to be giving you trouble, on account of pecuniary transactions. These transactions have been positively prohibited by the orders of the Company, and I have been expressly enjoined to prevent the continuance of them. If the people will not quit the Pollam, upon your notifying to them the purport of this tacked, you are authorized to arrest their persons, and to send them to Ramnad, taking particular care that you produce proof of their having demanded money of you, on account of those by whom they may be employed.”

This order had its effect. The people retired from the Pollam, but not without using “ every indecent and disrespectful expression, declaring that they had no occasion to fear or regard the order; that they would go and report to their masters, and return on the morrow, *with more force, and a proper lecture.*” †

Mr. Jackson candidly acknowledges, that he would have allowed the matter to rest here, if the name of the Governor of Madras had not been so unwarrantably in-

* March 1797.

† Letter from the Polygar to the Collector, the 5th April 1797.

troduced. It was due to the honor and character of the Noble Lord, to apprise him of the circumstance; and the more so, as it was not in the power of the Collector, without a manifest breach of his duty, to suppress the official correspondence which had passed on the occasion. He therefore wrote a *private* letter to Lord Hobart, inclosing copies of the papers; and by return of the post received an answer, of which the following is an extract:—

“ I am very much obliged to you for your letter, which I received this day; and although exceedingly pressed for time, I cannot postpone answering it, even for one tappall.”

“ The application from ——— and ——— to the Wootamaly Polygar, is by far the most indecent and scandalous production I have yet met with; and notwithstanding I have long entertained a good opinion of both these Gentlemen individually, I cannot hesitate in desiring you immediately to make an *official report* of the whole transaction, direct to Government.”

The “ official report ” was accordingly made, and from which the following extract is taken:—

“ The communication being thus officially made to me, it became my duty to adopt means for stopping an evil which could not be permitted to continue, without involving the Polygars in the most serious distress, and leading to the certain consequence of a failure in the Kists. If this observation required to be supported by proof, I have only to solicit reference to the accompanying copy of a letter from the Polygar of Pandalumcourchy to his Vackeel at this place, which will fully explain to your Lordship, the cause of the backwardness in his payments to the Company; and that, in truth, he was wholly divested of the means, by his creditors having effectually laid the whole Pollam under mortgage.”

“ My correspondence with this Polygar, as well as with Wootamaly, a copy of which goes inclosed, will put your Lordship in possession of the conduct which I deemed it incumbent upon me to observe on both occasions.”

" It would have been matter of great satisfaction to me, if the necessity had not occurred, for bringing so unpleasant a subject before Government. But I was without an alternative. Duty impelled the communication, and to have blinked the question, or concealed it, would assuredly have led to an accusation of neglect, or of something worse, had detection followed, that common discretion forbad me to think of."

The decision of Government upon this important transaction, was conveyed to the Collector in the following terms :—

" I am directed to express the entire approbation of the measures which you judged it expedient to adopt, upon the first communication of these proceedings in the Pollams under your authority; and to desire that you will enforce your orders to the Polygars, for resisting by force, if necessary, the emissaries of all mortgagees in their Pollams."

" The President in Council has judged it necessary to remove ——— and ——— from the Southern Districts; and to call upon ——— and ——— for an explanation of their conduct, *preparatory to their removal.*"

" In reviewing your conduct throughout this transaction, the President in Council has noticed, with peculiar satisfaction, the promptness and decision with which you have met this threatening evil; as well as the vigor and zeal with which you have discharged this essential part of your duty: And his Lordship cannot but place the greatest reliance on your firmness and public energy, for the radical extirpation of these mischievous dealings in the Southern Provinces."

This honourable testimonial was soon after followed by a letter from Lord Hobart to the Collector, of which the copy is here given :—

" As you may possibly be desirous of knowing the determination of Government with respect to ——— and ———, I send you copies of the letters that have been written to them upon the subject."

" It was perfectly evident that they had no concerns of their own, and that they only acted out of kindness to ——— otherwise they would not have been let off so easy. The best consequences may be expected from the decided part you have taken, and you may fully rely on the support and strongest approbation of Government."

The following are the Letters referred to by Lord Hobart :—

To ——— ———, at Palamcottah.*

SIR,—I am directed by the Right Honorable the President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 2d instant, and to express his entire disapprobation of your conduct, in interfering in the recovery of money arising from loans, repeatedly prohibited by the order of Government ; and to add his extreme surprise, that, in the forgetfulness of your own duty, you should have gone to the extent of charging the Collector with having treated you illiberally, because he executed his, with fidelity and vigor.

Whether ——— ——— was encouraged to enter into these loans by one Collector, or assisted in the recovery of his money by another, was no question for your consideration.

The orders of Government were to be your guide ; and an inattention to these orders by other persons, can never be admitted as a plea in your justification.

The President in Council is willing, however, to believe, that a mistaken principle of good nature has led you into an indiscretion, of which you seem so thoroughly sensible, that he cannot withhold from you, the advantages of that claim to the favor of Government, which you have acquired by the most zealous and active exertions in the duties of your profession.

* " I seek for no censure upon others, but exculpation for myself," said Mr. Jackson, in his Memorial to the Court of Directors, dated the 16th Sept. 1798 ; and still adhering to this principle, the names of the parties concerned in " a combination of usurious transactions," have been omitted in this Memoir.

Under that impression, the President in Council is disposed to forego any further observations upon this subject, except to apprise you, that a repetition of a similar proceeding, must inevitably be followed by the severest marks of the displeasure of Government.

I am, &c. &c.

JOS. WEBBE,

Secretary to Government.

Fort St. George, 10th May 1797.

To ——— at Palamcottah.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right Honorable the President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 1st instant, and to express his entire disapprobation of your conduct, in suffering yourself to be the means of recovering money, arising from loans, repeatedly, pointedly, and recently prohibited by Government.

Although ——— has fully acquitted you of any participation, in transmitting your circular letter to the Polygars, I am yet to express the utmost surprise of the President in Council, at the levity with which you treat a breach of the orders of Government, denouncing dismission to any Officer who may be guilty of disobedience to them.

Whatever consideration may be due to ———'s acquittal of any previous participation in dispatching the Cadjan, of your personal disinterestedness in the transaction, or to the humane motive from which you profess to have acted, I am directed to warn you, that a similar indiscretion on your part, will be followed by the penalty announced to you, in the General Order of the 29th August 1796.

I am, &c. &c.

JOS. WEBBE,

Secretary to Government.

Fort St. George, 10th May 1797.

Although orders had been sent to the Collector for a further investigation, to the end "that the President in Council might avail himself of the information to the fullest useful extent," yet, it was too apparent, that it

was wished these orders should not be acted upon; nor indeed had the Collector any wish or desire to push the matter beyond the point which his own sense of duty prompted him to pursue. This will be established by his reply to Lord Hobart's communication, which was as follows:—

“I beg to make to your Lordship my best acknowledgments for the copies of the letters written to ——— and ———. The evil, if it be not quite rooted out, is nearly so; and I can almost go the length of pledging myself to your Lordship, that there will not be another loan negotiated in these parts, *while I hold my present appointment*. I take it for granted, that it is not your Lordship's meaning, that I should adduce the proof called for in Mr. Webbe's letter, regarding these Officers, since, as far as it relates to them, the subject is dropped. If I am in an error, I trust your Lordship will be pleased to set me right—for proof can be brought, that the assertions of the Wootamaly Polygar are correct.”

The following communication, on the subject, was made by the Government to the Court of Directors:—

“In our Letter of the 27th March 1797, we had the honor to inform you, that we had appointed Mr. William Collins Jackson to be Collector of Polygar Peishensh; and we had the satisfaction of observing a very early proof of his vigilance and energy, in discovering, and reporting to us, a combination of usurious transactions and interference in the Pollams. The persons stated by the Polygars themselves to have engaged in these practices, were ———, ———, ———, and ———; the two last, as agents of ———, long a resident in these districts. We issued immediate orders in consequence, for the removal of ——— and ———; but in regard to ——— and ———, as they did not appear to have participated in these improper dealings, we thought it advisable to call upon them for an explanation of their conduct. At the same time we furnished Mr. Jackson, with full instructions for his guidance, in bringing forward the proof of these transactions on the part of

your Servants, that we might be fully enabled to carry into execution your orders, and the resolutions of this Government frequently denounced against these ruinous dealings."

"The answers of — and —, are recorded on our Consultations of the 9th of May. These Officers have fully acquitted themselves of any participation in the loans of ——. For this reason, we have suffered their general good character, and professional merit, so far to palliate this irregularity, as to limit ourselves to the expression of our decided disapprobation of their proceedings. But we cannot avoid pointing out to you, that the levity with which they treated the subject, and the indiscretion with which they engaged to circulate letters to the Polygars, demanding payment of ———'s debt, without the knowledge of the Collector, are strong, but lamentable proofs, of the little impression which has been made by your repeated orders, against money-dealings."

It has been judged expedient to go into so minute a detail of the particular facts bearing upon the subject of usurious loans, inasmuch as it will soon be discovered, that all the measures subsequently taken for the destruction of Mr. Jackson's character, arose out of the line of conduct which he adopted on the occasion; and that from the hour when he broke in upon, and overthrew, as far as his authority extended, "a complicated system of ruin and devastation," he was expressly marked out as a fit object, at which, for calumny, to level its deadly aim. It will be found, that the most infamous and wicked means were employed for the butchery of his fame, and that no road was left unexplored, to bring upon him disgrace and ruin.

A few days only had passed away, after the Collector's notification to the Governor of Madras, that "he could almost go the length of pledging himself, that there would not be another loan negotiated in the Southern Provinces,

while he was in office," when he plainly foresaw the danger he had to encounter, by an inflexible adherence to public duty. The alarm was given, and the "call" was heard, throughout the whole "extent and variety of interests involved in this one pursuit." The attack began by the dispersion, in every quarter of the Carnatic, of *anonymous* papers, accusing the Collector of corrupt practices. Two of these papers were transmitted to him, one by the Governor of Madras, the other by the Officer commanding the garrison of Madura. At another time, and under other circumstances, the Collector would have treated such productions with the contempt they merited. But here, he saw in them the harbingers only of a more violent and desperate assault, which would be committed upon him, so soon as the Noble Lord who was at the head of the Government, should withdraw from thence. It was, doubtless, a stroke of consummate policy, to create, in the first instance, a *suspicion* in the public mind, that it might be duly prepared for the rancorous poison, which it was intended afterwards to instil.

In these defamatory productions, it was stated, that the Collector, Mr. Jackson, had demanded bribes from all the Polygars, of such magnitude, "that if their whole estates were sold, the produce would not be equal to *one-fourth* of the demands." And it was added, that, "besides the Governor of Madras, *ALL* the Gentlemen of Palamcotah, Madura, and Trichinopoly, had been made acquainted with the circumstance." To be sure, it was rather unfortunate for these anonymous libellers, that a circumstance had just before occurred at the residence of the Collector, which directly went in refutation of their aspersion. A bribe had been offered, of *twenty thousand rupees*. It was not only rejected, but the case that induced it, was publicly brought forward by the Collector, in

a communication to the Board of Revenue, whose answer was as follows :—

“To mark the Board’s full approbation of your conduct—to shew to the Polygars the impropriety of employing persons for the purpose of intrigue at your Cutcherry—and to convince their servants, such offices are not *always* to be accepted with impunity, the Board desire you will punish the two men who offered you a bribe of twenty thousand rupees, in three of the most public places in your division, with one dozen lashes each time, making public the cause of their punishment.”

In consequence of these instructions, the following notification was immediately published :—

“Orders having arrived from the Board of Revenue, to inflict exemplary punishment on the two agents of Moply Vanien, who had offered, in their master’s name, a nuzzer to the Collector, of twenty thousand rupees, provided he would arrange matters in favor of Moply Vanien—the Collector, in pursuance of the orders he has received, now makes it known, that the punishment which he is about to inflict, is, *to manifest to all*, the impropriety of employing persons, for the purposes of intrigue, at his Cutcherry; and at the same time to prove, that such offices *are not to be accepted with impunity*:—He therefore directs, that the said agents do receive one dozen lashes at the Cutcherry—one dozen lashes on the Parade—and one dozen lashes in the most public part of the Pettah. The Collector further directs, that this paper be read in the Malabar language, previous to each punishment; and that the people be assembled to hear it read, by beat of tom-tom.

W. C. JACKSON, Collector.”

It would, perhaps, be very difficult to adduce a stronger instance than the preceding one, of an unshaken integrity of conduct. Yet, neither this proof, nor his former eminent services, could deter the miscreants from the circulation of anonymous libels, with a view to bring an odium

upon his character, and finally to expel him from his station. They knew, full well, that while he continued, "there would not be another usurious loan negotiated in the Southern Pollams." Hence, their anxiety to bring *speedy* destruction upon his head, and hence, the villainous means employed for the purpose. Aware of the quarter from whence the accusation came, he could not suffer it to sleep. He, therefore, in the first instance, published a Proclamation, offering a reward of two hundred pagodas from his own purse, to any one who would come forward, and give up the authors; but the assassins had played their game too well, to be caught by the offer of a pecuniary reward. Failing in this, the Collector reported the circumstance to Government, who saw the motives which had actuated *the drawers of the lie*, and pronounced accordingly, "that the conduct of Mr. Jackson had put him out of the reach of so impotent an attempt to injure his character."

It has been shewn in a former part of this Memoir, that Mr. Jackson, on the very day he took charge of the office of Collector, transmitted a circular letter to the Polygars, prohibiting the practice of usurious loans. A copy of that letter was, of course, forwarded to the Board of Revenue, "his immediate Superiors," who were pleased, in consequence, "to express their entire approbation of it, and their hope and expectation, that, by FIRMLY following up the declaration therein made, the Collector would be able to accomplish the object in view."—These were their *public* sentiments. It will presently be seen how far they accorded with their *private* sentiments. Scarcely had the letter containing such "entire approbation," reached the man to whom it was addressed, when another letter, from one of the Members of that very Board, called his attention to the sub-

ject in a different point of view. This member had been the intimate friend of the Collector, during the period when the latter held the *higher office* of Secretary to the Government. In this letter, the Collector was urged to afford his prompt assistance in the recovery of loans, under the fallacious pretext, that, if the usurer would be content with a legal interest, there would be nothing improper in the transaction. Had the subject of this Memoir consulted his own ease, *his own immediate interest*, or, indeed, his personal safety, he would have acceded to the private, rather than to the public recommendation which he had received: but, hurried away by the powerful consideration of the beneficial consequences that were sure to result from the eradication of so desperate an evil; and impressed with the conviction that he would not be deserted by the Government of Madras, from whom a solemn assurance of support had been obtained; nor by the Court of Directors, whose interests (in respect to their Constituents) were so effectually secured; the Collector refused to listen to the sophistical reasoning of his friend, and preferred the post of danger, to the sacrifice of public duty. The upshot was, that he lost his friend, and not only so, but added him to the list "of the numerous enemies who started up against him, for the part he had taken." The man who, in his public capacity, as a Member of the Board of Revenue, highly approved a measure of great and noted good; and, out of it, spoke a language, not easily to be misunderstood!

"It is not possible," said Lord Hobart, in his Minute of the 24th October 1795:—

"It is not possible to calculate the extent and variety of interests which are involved in this one pursuit; and though they are subdivided in every direction of the Carnatic, yet at the call of danger they all rally round a common center. The great houses

of business, who are the principal money-lenders, *borrow from individuals*, who, though not absolutely engaged in the loan itself, are partakers of the speculation in a remote degree, and feel with no less sensibility than their principals, the approach of danger. Similarity of interest makes it a common cause, and the great body of influence which is condensed upon this principle, is uniformly exerted to oppose a reformation, which I consider essential to the national welfare."

The reader, it is presumed, is, by this time, sufficiently prepared for what is to come. He is, no doubt, curious to learn, whether the solemn pledge given by Lord Hobart, was adhered to, or withdrawn. Mr. Jackson readily and willingly testifies, that his Lordship did, up to the latest moment, stand between him and his "numerous enemies." During that Noble Lord's Administration, there was not *one single measure* adopted by the Collector, which did not meet the warmest approbation. The Noble Lord's resignation was the signal for a general attack, and, from that hour, the Collector was assailed on every side. The Board of Revenue lost, *all at once*, the happy talent of awarding approbation, which *before* had been so abundantly lavished, that it came without call, and sometimes without expectation. The motive was obvious enough. But the vessel that bore Lord Hobart to England, had scarcely weighed anchor in the Roads of Madras, when the storm began to howl, nor did it intermit for a moment, until all his prospects were blasted and destroyed.

The unfair and ungenerous proceedings of the Board of Revenue, will best be explained, by soliciting the reader's attention to the following official document, addressed by the Collector to the court of Directors of the East-India Company, seven months posterior to Lord Hobart's resignation, and four months anterior to the Collector's ignominious expulsion from his office, for writing a private

letter to *that* Member of the Board of Revenue, from whom the recommendation came, *for aiding the Usurers in the recovery of their money.*

TO THE HONORABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF
THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

HONORABLE SIRs,

1. It is with the deepest concern that I am under the necessity of intruding myself upon your Honorable Court, and of bespeaking your indulgent attention to a representation of grievances of the most serious consequence to me, inasmuch, as the favorable opinion with which you have hitherto honored me, will, most probably, be continued or withdrawn, as the merits of the case, now submitted to your consideration, will appear before you. I have, indeed, the most thorough persuasion, that you will hear me with candor, and decide with justice.

2. For reasons which have been already explained to your Honorable Court, I found it indispensably necessary, in the year 1796, to solicit permission to retire from the situation of Military and Political Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, which I had held upwards of six years, nearly through the whole of the war in which you were engaged with Tippoo Sultaun, and during the period when your arms were employed in the conquest of the French and Dutch possessions. An era memorable for great events, having, in its consequence, broken the overgrown power of your most inveterate enemy, and given stability to your empire in Hindustan.

3. Your Honorable Court, at an early period of my services, were pleased to mark me as an object meriting your favor. You sent orders to the Government of Madras, to confer upon me any appointment that I might prefer to that of Secretary, provided such appointment were not incompatible with my rank in your service. Finding, after a lapse of four years from the date of your

orders, that my health had materially suffered, from the arduous duties of my station, I applied for, and obtained, the post of Collector of assigned Peishcush south of the Coleroon, and of Rammad; and continued to conduct myself in this new employ, *equally* to the satisfaction of Government, *until the resignation of the Right Honorable Lord Hobart of the Chair of Madras, on the 24th day of February 1798*, when, on a sudden, without the smallest provocation, and without any dereliction of my duty, I fell under the most serious displeasure of the Board of Revenue. From that hour, I have been harassed with vexatious and ill-founded remarks upon my conduct. My proceedings have been censured with extraordinary severity. I have been charged with putting a *forced* construction upon the orders of the Board of Revenue, “contrary to their obvious meaning,” when I took them in their literal sense. I have been accused of measures which I never adopted. I have been condemned upon mutilated statements, and subjected to all the evils of wilful misrepresentation.

4. The fair ambition to which all my hopes led, of acquiring a reputation in your service, by a diligent and faithful conduct;—the splendid distinction with which I had been honored by your Honorable Court; and the acknowledgments and thanks which had been voted to me by your Government, on my resignation of the Secretaryship, have all been torn up by the roots, and, without your interposition, would be left to perish. Lieutenant-General Harris and his Council have considered me a novice in your service, although near eighteen years of *my* life have been devoted to it. They have with-held “*all credit*” from the motives which I have assigned for my conduct; have interdicted me from all appeal to them; have accused me of a want of experience in your affairs; and not only charged me with incapacity in the most trivial points of official duty, but have asserted, in the most unqualified manner, that “I had obtained the effusions of meretricious gratitude, by a sacrifice of the public revenues.”—These heavy accusations are brought forward, as your Honorable Court will find, unsupported by any fact, and in decided contradiction to every opinion, and every observation, entered on your records for

a series of years. They are, too, equally hostile to every transaction in which I have been concerned, from the moment I took charge of the office of Collector, to the present time. HAD MY CONDUCT BEEN LESS GUARDED—HAD I BEEN LESS SCRUPULOUS OF YIELDING THE PUBLIC INTERESTS TO PRIVATE VIEWS, I MIGHT, PERHAPS, AT THE EXPENSE OF THESE SACRIFICES, HAVE SECURED APPLAUSE. By misrepresentations, by incongruous arguments, and by consequences deduced from false premises, matter has been found to condemn me; whilst a faithful relation of the history of those measures which have been so vehemently censured, must have carried with it a conviction of their propriety.

5. To your Honorable Court I respectfully appeal, whether it was just towards me, for the Board of Revenue to suppress one of my public letters, in their communication to Government, regarding the *partial* abolition of the settlement with the inhabitants of Ramnad, when the production of that document would satisfactorily have acquitted me of all inconsistency of conduct?—Whether it was just towards me, for the Board of Revenue to suppress, in another communication to Government, the *only part* of their orders to me, upon which the measure was founded, for dispossessing the Nabob's Killedar, of the Fort of Trippowanum, in the district of Shevigunga?—And whether it was consistent with their duty, or candid towards me, to deny, in a public letter to Government, all knowledge of any restrictions having been imposed on the importation of grain into the Ramnad district, when they had been told by my predecessor, Mr. Powney, that he had laid them on by land; and had three times been acquainted by me, that, for causes assigned, the prohibition of all foreign grain into the Province, was still in force?

6. Had it been possible, with these facts before me, to have placed any reliance on the Board of Revenue, I would willingly have left to them the exposition of my conduct, assured, that, if it were related with fidelity, I could have nothing to apprehend. But, aware, that if they could descend to the ungenerous task of representing me to Government, in a light diametrically opposed

to facts, they would not hesitate, upon the same grounds, to take the same irregular course, in their statement of my conduct to you, I have, with a view to frustrate this purpose, now the honor to transmit the accompanying papers, in explanation and vindication of those measures, which have been censured with such unqualified severity.

7. On the perusal of the paper No. 1. (which is divided into two parts,) your Honorable Court will undoubtedly notice, the disingenuous treatment which I met with from the Board of Revenue, in relation to the restrictions imposed on the importation of grain into the Ramnad Province. You will see, that they charged me with an act of which I was perfectly innocent;—denied, in the first instance, their knowledge of a transaction, which I have proved they were in knowledge of *twenty months before*;—and asserted they had never given a sanction to it, although they had *repeatedly* sanctioned it. And all this, in a solemn representation to Government, with a view of drawing down censure upon me, in which, from their misrepresentation, they have completely succeeded.

8. By the paper No. 2, your Honorable Court will observe, that the Board of Revenue, still in pursuit of the same object, have been detected in the unwarrantable and dangerous practice of suppressing, *in toto*, a fact, which must, but for such suppression, have justified me, in the fullest manner, for the line of conduct which I observed, in respect to the Fort of Trippowanum. They chose to keep out of sight, what they had enjoined me to consider as “FIXED PRINCIPLES,” and then made their report to Government, as if no such principles had been established for my guidance.* In proof, however, of the propriety and justness of the measure to which I had recourse, in consequence of the positive orders of the Board of Revenue, I beg to observe, that the Killedar of the Fort of Trippowanum has not, to this hour, been restored; nor the Nabob’s garrison reinstated. If any wrong had been offered to His Highness by my proceedings, that wrong

* See the Declaration which follows the Memorial.

is still unredressed; and whilst my authority was disavowed in a public letter to the Nabob, no means have been taken to rectify what has been considered an abuse of the power vested in me. The consequences that have resulted from this disavowal, are stated in the paper No. 2.

9. On the paper No. 3, I take the liberty to observe, that nothing but the most indispensable necessity, arising from a cause which could neither be foreseen nor prevented, could have induced a measure, that rendered, in some degree, useless, the infinite pains I had taken, to establish a system of village rents in the Ramnad country, never before accomplished; and for which I had obtained the approbation of Government, and the acknowledgments of the Board of Revenue. Your Honorable Court will see, that the eye of Providence was upon it; and that, if relief had not been afforded to the suffering inhabitants when it was, they would have quitted the country, and the revenue would have been lost. To this point, I respectfully request permission to refer to a letter to me from Colonel Martinz, No. 4, in order to satisfy your Honorable Court, that the partial abolition of the renting system, was a measure of indispensable necessity; and that, to have delayed it until a reference could be made to Madras, would have been fatal to the peace of the country. The character of Colonel Martinz is well known to you. His services have been conspicuous, and they have been uniformly marked with the most distinguished approbation; whilst his long residence in the Southern Countries, rendered him peculiarly fit to pass an opinion upon the measure in question.

10. In further testimony of the hostile disposition of the Board of Revenue towards me, I beg reference to the paper No. 5. Any comment upon their conduct, in the instance to which I have the honor to call your attention, would be superfluous; and although they subsequently acknowledged they had been led away by the mistake of their Accountant, it is no excuse for writing to me in terms which alone could be justified, after repeated warnings, and repeated neglects on my part.

11. Entertaining the highest sense of your justice, I am fully persuaded that your Honorable Court will afford it to me. To retain your good opinion, which, to me, has ever been invaluable, and to obviate the effects of misrepresentation, have alone led to this address. I seek for no censure upon others, but exculpation for myself; and have no fears upon my mind, as to the issue of this appeal. I have, at all times, endeavoured to preserve the character of a diligent and upright servant; and whatever blame the Board of Revenue have been pleased to impute to me, they cannot accuse me of a want of zeal or fidelity; nor charge me with a deficiency of attachment and gratitude, towards their benefactors and mine.

12. It is to me a matter of great wonder and astonishment, that, after the full detection of the Board of Revenue's ungenerous conduct towards me, in misrepresenting and suppressing facts, they should have gone the length of asserting, that, "on those occasions wherein the Board have been compelled to express to Government their disapprobation of my conduct, they had *invariably* forwarded every document, in justification or elucidation of it; and that whatever sentiment of dissatisfaction had been communicated to me from the Superior Board,* had *therefore* been founded on a view of all the circumstances of the case, not, as I had implied, on the partial representation of their Board."

13. It is upon the accuracy or inaccuracy of this assertion, that the Board of Revenue and I are respectively committed. If they can shew that they did not mutilate, in their representation to Government, the orders they sent to me on the 21st December 1797: If they can shew, that, in their letter of complaint against me, they ever brought forward my letter to them of the 10th February 1798: If they can shew, that Government were to understand from their letter of the 30th January 1798, that they were *in knowledge* of restrictions having been imposed on the importation of grain from in-land, culpability must then attach to me, for charging them with misrepresentation. But if they

* Meaning General Harris and his Council.

cannot do all this, the charge stands unrefuted, and my justification is complete.

14. My health and constitution are so much impaired, that I sincerely fear I shall be under the necessity of soliciting permission to return to Europe, before I can be honored with your sentiments upon this appeal. But wherever I may be, when your decision is made known, I shall receive it, as becomes me, with deference and respect; and while I am permitted to hold a station in your service, I shall, as I have hitherto invariably done, make my conduct subservient to your honor and interests.

15. Before I conclude, it may be right to make a few observations on my *public letter* addressed to Government, under date the 26th of February 1798, of which, I have the honor to inclose a copy. Your Honorable Court will perceive, that, in consequence of the responsibility which rested upon me, in relation to the articles of agreement entered into by my Lord Hobart with His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, in the year 1795, I judged it to be my duty to request instructions for my conduct; and humbly offered an opinion (which I conceived myself called upon to do, from the station I held) that it would be good policy to put the appointed Successor in possession of the District, in conformity with the articles of agreement, unless there were reasons, with which I was unacquainted, that called for a prolongation of the term; and if that were the case, I submitted the propriety of making those reasons known, or some other, that might give satisfaction to the public mind—to which I added, that a declaration of this nature would be highly beneficial, inasmuch as it would fully manifest a determination to render justice to all descriptions of persons enjoying the benefit of the Company's protection. This letter, I have reason to believe, has never been brought upon the public records!

I have the honor to be,

&c. &c.

W. C. JACKSON.

Ramnad, 16th Sept. 1798.

There is, on the records of the company, a declaration upon oath, which Mr. Jackson thinks it right to insert also in this place. It is as follows:—

DECLARATION.

“I, William Collins Jackson, do declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for mercy here and hereafter, that I was not influenced to the act of the expulsion of the Nabob’s Killedar from the Fort of Trippowanum, neither directly nor indirectly, by the offer or promise of any reward, of any kind, made, or to be made to me, or to any person or persons for, or on my account, by the Minister of Shevingunga, or by any other person or persons; and I do further most solemnly declare, that I never did receive, nor was to receive, nor am to receive, directly or indirectly, any sum or sums of money, or other valuable consideration, for the measure so adopted by me, to which I was alone induced, by the pure and perfect conviction, of an honest and conscientious discharge of my duty.

“*Sworn at the Mansion House,
the 11th Day of December 1809,
before T. Smith, Mayor.*”

So help me God,
W. C. JACKSON.”

When the reader shall have perused the above solemn Declaration, he will be able to form a true estimate of the character and conduct of those persons, who could, one year after Mr. Jackson had quitted India, exact, BY VIOLENT MEANS, an oath, from a man, who, at the very moment, stood charged with the crime of gross and wilful perjury (“from the impossibility,” as acknowledged by themselves, “of procuring OTHER PROOF,”) which oath was made to assert, that he, Mr. Jackson, had received a bribe from the Minister of Shevingunga, to the amount of eighteen thousand pagodas, for the “welcome” service of expelling the Killedar.—Well might the Directors of the India Company say, that an Oath, under such circum-

stances, ought neither to have been imposed, nor credit given to it! But a detail of the whole case, in connexion with this horrid deed, has been given in another place.

The Memorial to the Court of Directors had not been sent off, when Lord Clive arrived at Madras, and took charge of the Government. Mr. Jackson was now in hope that his persecution would end. He stated his case to the Noble Lord, and called for justice. He told Lord Clive, "that it would, perhaps, be known, at some period or other, that he (Mr. Jackson) owed the odium which had attached to his measures, to a determined resolution to resist illicit claims; and that, if he had not annihilated a system, founded on usury and extortion, which was rapidly destroying the Southern Countries, he would have had no opposition to encounter." He added, "that this system had been in practice for many years, and had spread itself over the whole face of the Pollams; that it was radically extirpated by him—yet, that such was the fatality attending the correction of the greatest abuses, that the man attempting the reformation, *was too often sacrificed to it.*"—With this letter (so prophetic of what followed) the Collector transmitted to the new Governor, the Memorial intended for the Court of Directors; and declared his readiness to abide by the Noble Lord's decision. He even recommended, and in pointed terms, that the Memorial should, in the first instance, be sent by Government to the Board of Revenue; that the latter might have the means of justifying themselves, if they could, from the charges exhibited therein.

It is due to Lord Clive to say, that he did not, for an instant, conceal from the Collector, that all appeals to his justice would be in vain. His very first act, was to return

the Memorial, with a short intimation, that it would not be received, "except through the channel of the Board of Revenue." A matter absolutely unprecedented in any appeal of a *civil* servant of the Company to the high authority of the Court of Directors! And, on the present occasion, most highly inexpedient, for the following reasons, adduced by the Collector at the time, in a letter to the Governor in council:—

"The points, in the Memorial, that specially related to the Board of Revenue, were of a nature, as I conceived, much too serious to be intrusted to their hands *by me*. In every case where my conduct had been called in question by the late temporary Government, it originated in the mutilation of public documents, in the concealment of facts, or in the suppression of public letters, by the Board of Revenue. I had, therefore, no security against similar attempts, and my conduct might have been finally judged, upon a mutilated statement of my own defence. Experience had shewn, that from the candor of the Board of Revenue, I had nothing to expect, and from their clemency nothing to hope. I had, however, no wish to conceal the contents of the papers from the Board of Revenue; on the contrary, I submitted to the wisdom of Government, the propriety of making them known to that Board, for the purpose of enabling them to furnish such observations as they might judge fit."

Although there were grounds to believe that the Memorial had been thrown back with a view to its entire suppression, yet, as the Collector had solemnly pledged himself to the Board of Revenue, that "nothing should deter him from bringing the charges forward," he obeyed the order of Government, and transmitted all the papers "through the channel of the Board of Revenue;" but not without offering a remark, that would preclude

the possibility, with any sort of decency, of any alteration or abridgement of them. What the Board of Revenue did with the Memorial, or what were their sentiments upon it—what Government did with it, or what the Court of Directors said upon it, Mr. Jackson has never been informed, although so many years have since passed away. He does not even know whether the Governor in Council ever received it from the Board of Revenue; or, what is much more to the purpose, whether it was transmitted to England, *in the form* in which it was sent to that Board. It cannot, however, escape the notice of the intelligent reader, that, if the Board of Revenue could have disproved the charges, such a circumstance, so honorable to them, and so disreputable to the Collector, would speedily have reached him. The entire silence that has been maintained by the Board of Revenue, by Lord Clive's Government, and by the Court of Directors, is the best proof that could be desired, of the accuracy and justice of the statement.

At or about the time that the Memorial was sent to the Board of Revenue, a circumstance occurred at Ramnad, which gave to the "numerous enemies" of the Collector, another occasion for the employment of their talents in the way of detraction. To explain this circumstance, the following letter is given:—

TO EDWARD SAUNDERS, ESQ.

PRESIDENT, &c. MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF REVENUE.

GENTLEMEN,—In consequence of the extraordinary circumstance that occurred here yesterday, it becomes my duty to explain particularly, the transactions which preceded it, in order to esta-

blish the propriety of my conduct, and to shew, that it was entirely governed by the orders you were pleased to furnish for my guidance.*

2. On the 9th of June last, I brought before you an ample detail of "the improper and unwarrantable conduct of the Polygar of Pandalumcouchy, who had not only turned aside from the advice which had been so repeatedly given, with respect to the necessity of a rigid adherence to his public engagements; but had ventured in defiance of my authority, to collect, by compulsive means, from the inhabitants of the Circar villages under his deshacowel,† the fees of next year; and to evade, or rather refuse compliance with my orders for his proceeding to Ramnad, to answer the charges that had been preferred against him."—I stated further, "that there were no means by which he could be brought to a sense of his duty, while he was permitted to remain where he was;" and recommended, with deference, that your authority should be given to me, "to announce your pleasure to the Polygar, that he should proceed *forthwith* to Ramnad; failing in which, that his person should be secured, and the Pollam sequestered, or delivered over to another branch of the family, as to you might seem most proper."

3. On the 25th of July following, I *again* took the liberty of bringing this matter before you. I expressed a sanguine hope, that, "I should be honored at an early day, with your instructions, touching the subject brought forward in my letter of the 9th of June;" and added, "that the Polygar was still very much in arrear to the Company—still persisted in his determination not to obey my summons for his proceeding to Ramnad—and still maintained a conduct, as subversive of my authority, as it was injurious to the public tranquillity."—I again repeated, "that my remonstrances had been wholly ineffectual;" and that, "unless the Polygar were deprived of his Pollam, *and my recom-*

* The reader is requested to attend particularly to the dates.

† An ancient usage. The Polygars receive a stipulated allowance, and become responsible for the security of the villages.

mendation went to the full extent of the measure, the Company's Investment would be materially checked; the weavers residing in the Pandalumcouchy Pollam would be stripped of their property; and the larger part of the advances made to them by the Commercial Resident, exposed to considerable danger." In the same letter I observed, that, "if Major Smart was authorized to send such force from Palamcotah, as he might conceive necessary, for securing the person of the Polygar, *all things would go well*; that, I thought the object could be effected without opposition; but that it would be better to risk opposition, than to allow the authority of the Company to be insulted with impunity."

4. On the 28th of July, I had the Honor to address you for the *third time*, expressing my extreme concern, that the necessity should occur, for addressing you so often, on one and the same subject—stating, that it was near two months since the matter was first brought before you; and that, from that time up to the hour when I was addressing you, the Polygar had trifled with my authority, and disobeyed my orders. I concluded, by giving it as my decided opinion, that, "the Polygar ought to be punished in the most exemplary manner."

5. On the 18th of August, I had the Honor to receive your letter, dated the 9th of that month, acquainting me that you had received my three letters, with their several inclosures, respecting the misconduct of the Pandalumcouchy Polygar; and transmitting, *for my guidance*, copy of your letter to Government, and of the reply of the President in Council.

6. You stated, that, "you were not without hope, that this last serious warning might save this young man from ruin;" and you recommended me "to ascertain, beyond the possibility of mistake, that all my former letters to him had been received, and fully understood by him; and that he had not been duped by the other branches of the family, who would naturally be anxious to supplant him."

7. Your letter to the President in Council, dated 31st of July. inclosed, for his information, "copies of two letters from Mr

Jackson, dated the 9th of June, and 25th of July, respecting the perverse behaviour and misconduct of the Polygar of Pandalumcouchy." It stated, that you had "deferred the consideration of the former, and its inclosures, in hopes of receiving the Polygar's reply, to the last serious caution given him by the Collector; but perceiving from the receipt of the latter, that he had given fresh proofs of his disobedience to the Collector's orders, you thought fit to recommend, that Mr. Jackson be desired immediately to recal the Tassildar from his Pollam; to make a last effort, to awaken him to a sense of his duty; and to summon him to appear at his Cutcherry, within fifteen days after the date of the requisition, on pain of the serious displeasure of Government; and that, if he should be so blind to his own interest and welfare, as to persist in his refusal, you requested the sanction of Government, that Mr. Jackson be authorized to adopt any measures he might deem most expedient, for securing his person, by application to the Commanding Officer for a military force, or otherwise."

8. Government, in reply, expressed their concern "at the perverse obstinacy of the Pandalumcouchy Polygar;"—adding, that, "if the serious warning which the collector was about to make to him, should fail of reclaiming him, they authorized Mr. Jackson to use means for securing his person."

9. Although the recommendation contained in my letter to you of the 25th of July, viz. to march a force from Palamcotah, to secure the person of the Polygar of Pandalumcouchy, and to deprive him of his power, was not judged necessary by you, until the Tassildar had been withdrawn, and a last effort had been made, to awaken the Polygar to a sense of his duty: and although I was unable to comprehend, what was meant by the expression contained in your letter to Government, of the 31st of July, viz. that you had deferred the consideration of my letter of the 9th of June, in hopes of receiving the Polygar's reply, to the *last* serious caution given him by me, (since my *last* letter to him, under date the 8th

* A Native Officer, employed to receive the Company's tribute.

of June, a copy of which was transmitted to you on the following day, contained the following passage :—“ After your late conduct, in refusing to obey the summons I sent you to proceed to Ramnad, *I have relinquished all hope* of your perceiving the errors into which you have fallen, and the mischiefs you are bringing upon yourself. Your proceedings I shall immediately report to the Board of Revenue at Madras. In the mean time, I recommend it to you, not to aggravate their displeasure, by refusing to redress the grievances complained of by Copianger.* For my own part, *I have done with you*. Admonition and remonstrance have been ineffectual, and you must now take the consequence of your own fatal follies ;”) I, nevertheless, proceeded in the execution of your orders ; and on the very day they were received, sent a letter of recal to the Tassildar, and wrote, as follows, to the Polygar of Pandalumcourchy.

“ I am directed by Government to give you one more, and the last chance, of saving you from ruin. This effort to awaken you to a sense of your danger, will not, I hope, be unavailing. I am therefore to require, that you appear at *my Cutcherry*, on or before the 5th day of September next, on pain of the serious displeasure of Government. Be guarded in your conduct—avoid bad advice—and be not so unwise, as not to pay implicit obedience to this order.”

10. Three days after the above letter was dispatched, I left Ramnad, for the purpose of carrying into execution your orders of the 5th of July. On the 27th ultimo, being then far distant from this place, information was brought to me, that the Polygar of Pandalumcourchy was near at hand, escorted by a very considerable force ; and that he purposed visiting me the next morning :—to which I replied, that I would receive his visit at no other place than Ramnad ; and that it was my positive orders, *agreeably to your instructions*, that he should proceed thither without the

smallest delay. He made no objection, but followed me the whole way. On his arrival here, the evening of the 19th instant, I sent a message to him, that I would see him the next morning, *at the Cutcherry*. He came accordingly, with his brother, manager, and attendants. I told him, on his entering the Cutcherry, "that he had done well, in at length obeying my orders, and that by so doing, he had, probably, saved himself from ruin."—He replied, that it was owing to his mother's indisposition, he had not come hither at an earlier period. I stated to him the concern I felt at his having, with so much cause, fallen under the displeasure of Government; and that it would be necessary he should remain at Ramnad, until your final orders were received. He answered, that he would do so. I then inquired, if he had received all my letters. He said, he had received many; but did not know whether the whole had been delivered to him. I directed the Jabab Naveez, in consequence, to read every one of them to the Polygar, beginning with my letter of the 26th of October 1797.* He patiently heard the whole, up to my letter of the 23d May 1798, and acknowledged to have received them all. When the concluding part of the last-mentioned letter was read to him, he appeared somewhat agitated, and requested permission to retire, for a moment, on a necessary occasion. Leave was of course given to him; but, taking advantage of it, he ran precipitately to the gate of the Fort, a distance of 150 yards, and, with his attendants, forced the gate-way; Lieutenant and Adjutant Clarke coming up at the moment, spoke to the Polygar, and urged him to return to the Cutcherry, calling out, at the same time, to the Sepoys on guard, not to injure the person of the Polygar. But the latter, without uttering a word, drew his short sword, or dagger, plunged it into the right breast of the Adjutant, and killed him on the spot.† He then effected his escape. Upon

The letters dated the 26th October 1797 and 23d May 1798, are given at full length, for the information of the reader.

† Three men, who were eye-witnesses of the murder, swore positively to this fact. Their testimony was sent to Lord Clive

the death of the Adjutant, the Sepoys fired, and in the scuffle that followed, two Sepoys were wounded, one mortally, and several of the Polygar's people were killed and wounded. The latter were carried off.

11. The Polygar's brother (the dumb boy) also escaped; but the manager was secured, and is now in safe custody.

12. There is no doubt that the plan was premeditated; for the moment the Polygar quitted the Fort, an armed force, which had been previously concealed in different places, made its appearance. By every account I have been able to collect, there could not be less than four thousand armed men. As soon as he effected his escape, he went off, with all his people, in the direction of his Pollam; and at nine o'clock last night, he was on the other side of the village of Chickle; and, by this time, he must be out of the Ramnad Province.

13. I need not point out the absolute necessity there is, of proceeding without delay against this Polygar. And as there is now no prospect of taking him by surprise, it will, at least, require a complete battalion of Sepoys, two battering guns, and half a regiment of cavalry, to secure him. It would also be of beneficial use, if a large reward (say 5000 rupees) were offered for him; but, in every event, the Pollam should be forfeited for ever.

14. Lieutenant Clarke, was a very worthy man, and had served His-Highness the Nabob, and the Honorable Company, upwards of thirty years. He has left behind him three young children, without any sort of provision; and as he lost his life in the discharge of his duty, I should hope, under a consideration of all these circumstances, that you would think his family fit objects of recommendation to Government, for a small pension, to preserve them from perishing.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. C. JACKSON.

Ramnad, 21st Sept, 1798.

The following documents are referred to, in the 10th paragraph of the preceding letter :—

TO THE POLYGAR OF PANDALUMCOURCHY.

I have forborne to write you for a long time past, under the hope, that the advice which I had repeatedly given, would have been followed by you. This is the 26th day of October, and still there is a balance due to the Company; while it is well known that your revenue exceeds, four times, the amount of the tribute, in which you are assessed. But it is not owing to any circumstance that could *not* have been averted, that I have had so much difficulty and trouble with you. The cause is in yourself. Instead of attending to the duties of your station, which are so plainly before you, you have given yourself up to dissipation and debauchery. Instead of endeavouring to make your Pollam prosperous, and the people under you happy, you have delivered over the management of public affairs to men, who are incompetent to transact it;—and, perfectly indifferent to what may happen, you have, without any reflection, constantly indulged yourself in weak and vicious pursuits.

If you form an opinion, that such conduct will establish the good-will of the Company, you are entirely mistaken; and if you continue to persist in a line of proceeding, so decidedly opposite to their orders and instructions, I tell you plainly, as your friend, that they will not permit you to hold a station, of which, by every act of your life, you are manifesting to the world, you are wholly unworthy.

To retain the inheritance which has been handed down to you, would not be a task of the smallest difficulty. A reformation of conduct, is all that is necessary. Banish from your presence, those insidious and wicked advisers, by whom you have hitherto been guided; and call to your assistance, men older than yourself, and of established character; whose advice, if you are disposed to follow, will yet preserve you from those misfortunes which are fast

approaching, and which must overwhelm you, if the greatest care be not taken.

I am willing to make large allowances for a young man like you. But vicious habits, once acquired, are not easily shaken off; and you are of an age, when discrimination is expected. To squander your whole revenue in idle pleasures—to give way to indulgences that lead to ruin—to persist in such folly, after your eyes have been opened to the danger, would betray a weakness so criminal, that it would not be possible to excuse it.

The Kists of next year are near at hand. Should you fail in the discharge of them, be satisfied nothing will save you. I give you this caution, that it may not be said, if proper advice had been given you, it would have been followed. The Car crop will be gathered next month. Need I say more, to advise you to lay by what money you may collect, for the payment of the tribute?

W. C. JACKSON.

Ramnad, 26th October 1797.

TO THE POLYGAR OF PANDALUMCOURCHY.

The innumerable complaints which are daily preferred against you by the Nabob's servants, by the commercial resident at Tinnevely, and by others; and the manifest disobedience which you have repeatedly shewn to my orders, as well as the non-payment of your Kists (there being now due from you upwards of 6000 Coily chuckrums,) at length compel me to take the most decisive measures in support of the Company's authority. I, therefore, peremptorily and positively require of you, instantly on the receipt of this letter, to proceed to Ramnad, without pretending to, or offering any excuse; and I warn you, at your peril, to decline or refuse compliance, under any pretext whatever. Should you not reach Ramnad in fifteen days from this date, *I will recommend to Government the sequestration of your Pollam.** Be not so unwise as to entertain the smallest notion, that I am not seriously resolved on this measure; and remember, that it was because the

* It was this part, that produced the visible agitation, noticed in the 10th paragraph of the letter to the Board of Revenue.

Polygar of Saupatour refused obedience to a similar summons from Mr. Powney, that he lost his Pollam, and has been proscribed by the Company.

The Hircarrah, who proceeds with this letter, has my positive orders to bring you with him to Ramnad. Should you hesitate, your ruin must be complete. There is no other chance of saving yourself, than by the most prompt obedience to this order.

W. C. JACKSON.

Ramnad, 23d May 1798.

The reader will not fail to notice, the strong and glaring inconsistency, which marked the conduct of the Board of Revenue on this occasion. They stated to Government, that they had “deferred the consideration of the Collector’s letter of the 9th of June, *and its inclosures*, in hopes of receiving the Polygar’s reply to the last serious caution given him,” notwithstanding that one of these very inclosures did absolutely contain the Polygar’s reply “to the last serious caution,” and in which he refused compliance, under the pretext of his mother’s indisposition. Another of these inclosures consisted of a report from the Tassildar at Pandalumcourchy, dated the 4th of June 1798, which stated, that “the Polygar promised, at first, to proceed to Ramnad, agreeably to orders, in fifteen days; but he will not now perform his promise; and, *pretending* to be sick, is retired to the innermost part of his palace, where he holds his Cutcherry, and diverts himself with the butting of rams, and the fighting of cocks, without regarding the orders you have sent him. All persons are allowed to visit him within the palace; but the Company’s Hircarrah is prevented by the porters from entering the palace. This Polygar will not easily proceed to Ramnad; and it appears that he has no intention to do so. He has read the takeed sent to him, relative to the troubles occasioned by him in the Circar villages, but has not made any inquiry. He has already anticipated the collections of

the ensuing year, and consequently has greatly oppressed the inhabitants of his deshacowel villages, and they are lamenting greatly."

It is, certainly, a most extraordinary circumstance, that the Board of Revenue should have postponed the consideration of this very important subject, from the 14th of June, the day they received the Collector's letter of the 9th of that month, to the 31st of July, when they wrote to Government; and particularly so, as the Collector's recommendation, in that letter, went no further than to obtain *their orders* (since the Collector's had been ineffectual,) for requiring of the Polygar, *in their name*, to proceed to Ramnad, which might have been determined upon at once, as it was only on the Polygar's refusal to obey *their summons*, that any further measures were recommended to be taken. Forty-seven days were allowed to elapse, between the Collector's report to them, and their representation to Government! If the occasion ever offered for the necessity of immediate decision, it will be found in the present case. What opinion must the Polygar have entertained of the Collector's authority, when he discovered that no steps were taken (notwithstanding the matter contained in the Collector's two letters to him, dated the 23d of May, and 8th of June,) for upwards of two months? What, in fact, were his proceedings during that interval? It is upon record, and was known to the Board of Revenue, when they wrote their letter of the 9th of August to the Collector, that the Polygar had carried his contumacy and disobedience to a much greater length than he had ever presumed to do before. He not only openly plundered the Nabob's villages, but seized upon the Company's weavers, and extorted money from them by the most cruel means, such as applying, (accord-

ing to the official communication of the Company's Commercial Resident at Tinnevely) " blood-suckers to their flesh, pulling out their teeth, and introducing into their eyes the caustic juice of the milk hedge." He withheld the payment of his Kists to the Company—celebrated an expensive marriage of one of his relations, which cost twice as much as would have liquidated the public demand upon him—and maintained an obstinate and disrespectful silence to all the remonstrances of the Collector.

While the Collector's recommendation went no further than to require, *in the name of the Board of Revenue*, that the Polygar should proceed forthwith to Ramnad, to answer the charges brought against him, the Board of Revenue did not take up the subject; but the moment he stated to them the necessity of punishing the Polygar in the most exemplary way, they directed that the Polygar should be once more summoned to Ramnad. Hence, it is clear, that the Collector's sentiments and opinions were altogether disregarded, so long as he continued to limit his recommendation to the mere act of calling the Polygar to Ramnad, in the name of the Board of Revenue; but he no sooner suggested the utility and necessity of inflicting exemplary punishment, in consequence of further atrocious acts of the Polygar, than the punishment was rejected, and the summons adopted.

The reader is now to be reminded, that *Pandalum-courchy* was one of the Pollams, from which the emissaries of European Creditors were expelled by the Collector, as noticed in the former part of this Memoir.

Every document, connected with the murder of the Adjutant, was transmitted by the Collector officially to Lord

Clive; and it was earnestly pressed upon his Lordship, "that the tranquillity of the Southern Pollams, and the Tinnevelly Province, would be much endangered, until exemplary punishment were inflicted on this daring culprit." And thus, for the moment, thought Lord Clive, for he deemed it advisable, to take immediate measures, for assembling a detachment of troops, of sufficient strength, to assert the authority of the Company's Government, and to enforce the submission of the Pandalumcourchy Polygar." But in eight days after, his Lordship was persuaded to forego this wise and salutary resolution, and instead of enforcing the submission of the Polygar, to invite him, by a Proclamation, "to surrender himself to the Company's authority, either to the Collector of Ramnad, or to the Commanding Officer at Trichinopoly." In nine days after the date of the Proclamation, recourse was had to another measure, and it was conveyed to the Collector in the following terms:—"As the Polygar of Pandalumcourchy has evinced a total want of confidence in Mr. Jackson, his Lordship in Council has superseded the Collector's authority, and has authorized the Commanding Officer at Trichinopoly to open a negotiation with him." In four days after this measure had been resolved upon, it was rescinded, and a Committee was ordered to assemble at Ramnad, "for the purpose," as the Collector was told, "of making a full inquiry into the whole transaction, in order to obviate the danger of a Polygar war."

Now, the notion of a general Polygar war, arising out of this circumstance, was, in itself, so palpably absurd, that one would have thought even Lord Clive, inexperienced as he was in the affairs of India, would hesitate to give ear to so ridiculous a tale. The Collector, in reply, did ridicule this notion, observing, that he had proffers of assistance

from many of the Polygars, to act *against*, and not *for*, the delinquent. But his Lordship's judgment was warped from its proper bias, by the loud and incessant clamour of the "insatiate cabal," who saw the weak side, and eagerly fastened upon it. The vacillation of his Lordship's public actions and public conduct at the time, proves that his mind was susceptible of every impression. At one moment, he takes immediate measures for assembling a detachment of troops, and at the next, countermands his orders. To-day, he supersedes the Collector's authority, *and vests it in a Military Officer*. To-morrow, he supersedes the authority of that Officer, and vests it in a Committee; and, to remove every possible doubt of the true motives from whence this fluctuating conduct arose, he directs his confidential Secretary to notify to the Collector, "that the unfortunate affair of the Pandalumcourchy Polygar, with the events which preceded and followed it, HAS BEEN SO DIFFERENTLY REPORTED, and the danger to which the Southern Countries are by that accident exposed, of a Polygar war, is of so serious a nature, as to have induced Government to appoint a Committee, for the purpose of making a full inquiry into the whole transaction."

How far Lord Clive acted right, in yielding credence to *different reports*, will be seen in the sequel. It had, no doubt, been carefully concealed from his Lordship, that there was an existing order, which enjoined *all Officers in command of Garrisons or Detachments*, to keep aloof from every matter connected with the Southern Pollams. This order is dated the 30th June 1797, and expresses, "that it is the object of Government to establish their controul over the Polygars, *through the sole means of the Collector*, and consequently to prevent every appearance of a divided authority." The policy and utility of this injunction will fully be demonstrated, on reference to the

4th and 5th paragraphs of Lord Hobart's first Minute on the subject of usurious loans.

The Collector judged it to be for the good of the public service, to draw the attention of Lord Clive (that he might not have to say he was unacquainted with the fact) to the prohibition which had been issued against any interference on the part of the Officers in command of Garrisons. At the same time, the Collector wrote to the Noble Lord's confidential Secretary, in the terms following:—"I am honored with your letter of the 19th instant,† and request you will do me the favor of acquainting Lord Clive, that the Southern Pollams were never in a state of more perfect tranquillity (Pandalumcouchy excepted) than they are at present; and that there is not the most remote probability of any one Polygar standing forth in defence of the Pandalumcouchy, whether measures of coercion or conciliation be observed towards him. I hope, therefore, his Lordship will not entertain the idea of a Polygar war; for should it ultimately be necessary to march a force against Pandalumcouchy, the matter would be terminated in a few days, and tranquillity restored in that Pollam."

The Committee, however, was appointed, and the reader will smile, when he learns the circumstance, that two out of the three Members of whom it was composed, were *bonâ fide* Military Officers in command of Garrisons, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Southern Pollams. The third, and junior Member, had been a resident for some years at Palamcotah, and knew, as well as the other two, every transaction in which the Collector had been concerned, for the suppression of usurious loans. A Committee, so constituted and chosen, did not augur well for the Col-

lector, who had previously pledged himself, "that there would not be another loan negotiated in these parts, *while he held his present employment.*"

The Committee was ordered to assemble at Ramnad. It waited full two months for the Polygar. At length he reached the spot, escorted by more than one thousand followers, armed at all points. The result may be readily anticipated. After a *mock* inquiry, he was permitted by the Committee to return *in triumph* to the Pollam of Pandalamcoultry; and the consequence was, that in a few months thereafter, **THE CARCASS OF THIS VERY POLYGAR WAS EXPOSED ON A GIBBET, FOR ANOTHER REBELLION, AND FOR OTHER MURDERS!!** He was not aware that he owed his safety, in the first instance, to the passionate malignity of the "numerous enemies" of the then Collector. Released from all censure and punishment, in a case where he knew his turpitude had been so thoroughly established, it is not a matter of wonder that he should so speedily renew the same game, and invite others to be of the party.

It has been said, that *the Committee* permitted the Polygar to return in triumph to his Pollam—and this is true. No report had been made to Government, of the proceedings had on the occasion, when the Polygar obtained leave to depart. *These proceedings are of a most curious and extraordinary nature.* They require, indeed, to be examined with the deepest attention.* A more gross and shameful perversion of justice, was never exhibited to public view. Neither the Court of Inquisition in Spain, nor the Star-Chamber formerly in England, if all their dark proceedings were exposed to the world, would be found to

* They never were sent to England, nor called for from India!! What more need be said?

surpass the proceedings of the Ramnad Committee. A brief statement can alone be given in this place. First, The Polygar, the murderer of the unfortunate Adjutant, and the exciter of rebellion, was seated by the side of the *Military President*, during the entire period of the inquiry, and even while giving his evidence, with a sword by his side, and a dagger in his belt, and surrounded by his numerous followers, equally well armed.—Second, The meetings were not held in the Fort of Ramnad, but at a very considerable distance therefrom, under a tent, pitched on an open plain.—Third, Petitions foreign to the object of inquiry, were greedily received by the Committee, opened, read, and forwarded to Government, without any communication of their contents to the Collector.—Fourth, Oaths of secrecy were administered to the witnesses, with the view of keeping from the knowledge of the Collector, matter of the most serious import, notwithstanding he had the permission of Government to be present at all the proceedings.—Fifth, The Collector's principal servant (not a servant of the Company) was thrown into prison, and most rigorously treated, on a charge of gross and wilful perjury, adduced against him by the *Military President*. The native friends and relatives of this servant were restricted from all access to him; and he was shut out from every comfort to which he had been always accustomed, and which his advanced age, and bodily infirmities, rendered more necessary than ever.—Sixth, The Polygar was *absolutely invited* by the *Military President* (for he even would not do it without an invitation) to make an attack upon the *personal integrity* of the Collector, who was peremptorily interdicted by the upright and conscientious Committee, from offering the smallest remark, *even upon oath*, in refutation of it. “The charge *shall* stand upon the face of the proceedings,” said the *Military Pre-*

sident, "but the oath in refutation of it, is irrelevant to the object of inquiry, and cannot be entered."

If Committees are to be thus distorted from the purposes for which they were instituted, no man will venture to appear before them. They will become an engine of protection to the guilty, and of terror to the innocent: for what can be a readier screen to wicked men, than a door being open for their escape, through the accusation of others? * Or, what can appear more alarming to an honest man, than to find he may be suddenly accused, when circumstances neither can be inquired into, nor his character vindicated? The *Military* President received the accusation, and if it be asked, upon what ground? the answer must be, because he conceived it material to the question at issue. But its application, after all, must depend upon its being true, and well founded: and how can this be ever known, if the party accused is not to be heard in his own defence?

* If persons holding responsible situations," (this is the language of the Court of Directors) "were liable to be exposed to the vexation and ignominy of public trial, whenever they may, in the discharge of their official duties, have delivered opinions adverse to the sentiments, or even the INTERESTS of any part of the service, it will be impossible for such persons to do their duty to the Public in any instance which may interfere, or may be supposed, to interfere, with these sentiments or interests, or to give upon any question, a fair and honest opinion, if that opinion may by inference or strained application be construed into a criminal insinuation against the character and conduct of individuals. If such a claim could be maintained, if the practice which it inculcates were to prevail, it would put an end at once to all official confidence, and leave the Government without the means of obtaining information respecting existing errors, defects, or *abuses*, or of forming plans for the correction of any arrangements which have a tendency to produce them. We have thought it necessary to state these principles generally and broadly, because we are deeply impressed with a sense of their truth and importance."

The *Military President* refused to admit the Collector's affidavit, and the Committee supported him in it, upon the plea, that it was irrelevant to the object and purpose of the inquiry. But this reasoning, to have been good, should have extended a little further. Where accusation could not be inquired into, it ought not to be received.

This is a principle of justice so obvious, that the departure from it in the present instance, can only be ascribed to the fixed determination of the Committee, to acquit the Polygar, at the expense of the Collector. A fact that cannot be proved, is a nullity in law. It may, indeed, gratify the malice of an accuser, wound the feelings of the accused, or afford scope for idle remark; but beyond these purposes, it can answer no other whatever.

Mr. Jackson has only to observe further upon this subject, that although he could not be heard before the Committee, he was determined to be heard elsewhere. He noticed, in his dispatches to Government, the infamous charge which had been brought against him by the Polygar on the explicit invitation of the *Military President*; and established in the most perfect manner, and by positive proof, that it was no other than an odious falsehood, invented by the interested advisers of the Polygars, solely with the view of expelling him from his station.

The Ramnad Committee forwarded their proceedings to the Governor in Council on the 31st day of December 1798; and on the very day they were received at Madras, viz. the 4th of January 1799, the Collector was "dismissed from his employ;" not for any measure originated in his public conduct, but "ONLY" for having written (after he had notified his intention to resign) a *private* letter to a Member of the Board of Revenue, containing some wholesome and salutary advice. "Considering," said Lord Clive and his Council,—“considering the important

situations which Mr. Jackson has filled, and the repeated testimonies of approbation which he has obtained from this Government, and from the Honorable Court of Directors, we have had much concern in manifesting this serious mark of our displeasure: but individual pretensions, however splendid, or meritorious, MUST YIELD TO THE WEIGHTY NECESSITY OF SUPPORTING THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES OF GOVERNMENT." If the Noble Lord himself had not departed* from this axiom, in a case ten thousand times more strong than that which drew it forth, he might have derived some credit, from *this* manifestation of his "serious displeasure." In this Memoir, however, it would be impertinent to scrutinize *his public conduct*, or to introduce any matter, foreign to the avowed object for which it is written. Mr. Jackson's "public conduct and services" terminated with his dismissal: and he quitted India, with the explicit sanction of the Government of Madras, almost immediately after, without the slightest hint or suspicion against his moral character.

W. C. JACKSON.

See the Directors' intended letter to Bengal, 3d April 1805.

END OF THE MEMOIR,

The following Letters having immediate reference to the circumstance mentioned in the Preface, it has been deemed expedient to bring them to the notice of the reader.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN ANSTRUTHER, BART.
 &c. &c. &c.

SIR,—In some of the Evening Papers of the 12th instant, the accompanying account has been given of a cause, which came on to be heard before the Lords ~ of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, on Tuesday, the 10th of this month, in which Rungah Pillah, a native of Madras, was the Appellant, and the East-India Company were Respondents.

In the way the Case has been stated by the Editors, it has occurred to myself, and to certain of my friends, who have seen it, that the allegations of the Appellant having been *alone* given to the public, there is no certainty, that an impression may not be made, of an injurious tendency to my character. The Appellant has stated, that *Presents* were received by me; and this statement, as far as the public is concerned, stands unrefuted.

But, notwithstanding, that for a time, at least, my name may be the sport of calumny, in consequence of the premature report of the Editors in question; it was with real satisfaction that I noticed the determination of the Lords of the Privy Council, to postpone the decision, until they were "in possession of all the original proceedings, and every document relating to the subject."

I beg leave, with great deference and respect, to draw your attention to the various documents (a list whereof I have the honor to inclose) which have, from time to time, *since my return to England*, been transmitted by me to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company; and which led to an acquittal of every immoral act on my part, and to the permission of my returning to their Service, without prejudice to my rank.

Sir John Anstruther was one of them.

These documents will elucidate, in an eminent degree, the case now before their Lordships, since they will prove the following points :—

First—That, on the 23d day of December 1798, Rungah Pillah was committed to prison at Ramnad,* and a MILITARY GUARD placed over his person, *on a charge of wilful and corrupt perjury*, in a matter wholly unconnected with the case now before their Lordships.

Second—That, no report was made to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras, either of the alleged crime, or of the consequent imprisonment.

Third—That, AFTER my embarkation for England, which took place on the 7th of March 1799, a Proclamation was issued (Rungah Pillah being still in prison) *by the authority of the Board of Revenue*, throughout the countries which had been under my superintendence and controul, inviting all persons to come forward, who could prefer any charges AGAINST ME, against the prisoner, or against any of the servants that had been under my orders.

Fourth—That, Rungah Pillah was in actual confinement for the crime of wilful perjury, *and had been so nearly seven months*, when the circumstance of the supposed Presents came to the knowledge of the Board of Revenue.

Fifth—That, it was not until I had been twelve months in England, that intelligence reached me, *through a private channel*, of the means employed to work upon the fears of Rungah Pillah; and that I entered upon my defence, UNCALLED FOR BY THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, who took no notice of my earnest entreaties for copies of such documents as bore upon the charge, until they were in possession of all I had to urge in my own behalf.

Sixth—That, when Rungah Pillah was interrogated on the subject of the supposed Presents, (being still in confinement on the charge of wilful and corrupt perjury) he declared positively, that he had no proofs of any kind to adduce, in support of the

* See Memoir, page 50.

assertion that they had paid to me;—but being still closer pressed, he, at length, said, that he was ready *to take an oath*:—And this he did, notwithstanding that the assertion was in direct contradiction to the declaration given by the VERY PERSONS, from whom the money was said to be received, who peremptorily maintained, and persisted so to do, that the money in question, *was not paid to Rungah Pillah, as a wuzzer for my use, but for account of the Company, in part discharge of the tribute.*

Seventh—That, in 48 hours after he had so offered to take an oath, *he was released from imprisonment, permitted to return to his family at Madras; and this too, without any trial, or even inquiry, then or subsequently, into the charge of wilful and corrupt perjury, for which he had so long suffered a rigorous confinement.*

Eighth—That, many months elapsed, after his arrival at Madras, before compulsory means were employed TO EXTORT THE OATH, he having pertinaciously resisted every effort of the Board of Revenue, short of compulsion; and that, in the Bill of Complaint afterwards filed by him, he says, explicitly, that he was afraid of the consequences of swearing to matter upon his own word only, while he admits that he was not in my confidence, further than as a mere translator.

Ninth—That, it was proved against him, in a variety of instances, that he accepted money as often as it was tendered to him; and that, on one occasion, he actually did INTERCEPT, and appropriate to his own use, (see paper inclosed) a sum of money that was passing to the public treasury—the very charge that was brought against him by the Cherokar of Shevigunga, when, *in order to release himself from the rigors of his imprisonment, he made the assertion, that the money had been paid to me.*

Tenth—That, Rungah Pillah did not file his Bill in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras, until the Cherokar of Shevigunga had been put to death for rebellion, *thereby precluding the counter-evidence, which might, at an earlier period, have been available.*

Eleventh—That, the witnesses who deposed to the falshood of Rungah Pillah's assertion, that the money had been received as a nuzzer for my use, *were never called upon to state the same upon oath*, notwithstanding that there was time sufficient, before the district of Shevigunga was in open revolt against the authority of the Company.

Twelfth—That, Mr. Nathaniel Edward Kindersley, one of the Members of the then Board of Revenue, who was deputed to Rungah Pillah (*and who is now in London,*) solemnly assured him (see Bill of Complaint) that, if he paid the amount of the Presents, no oath would or could be exacted;—that, upon ~~this~~ pledge being given, Rungah Pillah did pay the entire sum; that, on the next day, or very soon after, he was carried, BY MAIN FORCE, to the pagoda at Triplicane, where he again resisted, BUT IN VAIN; and that, throughout the whole of this most extraordinary transaction, *the man had shewn the most insuperable reluctance to take the Oath.*

Lastly—I desire especially to submit to you, that, there is another Gentleman, *now in London*, “who” (I use his very words, and with his permission) “can solemnly affirm, that two or three days previous to Rungah Pillah being compelled to take the Oath, at the Triplicane pagoda, to avoid which, he had already embraced the heavy alternative of paying the money, he, Rungah Pillah, sent a message to him, purporting, that notwithstanding such his submission, the Board of Revenue, WITH THE MOST CRUEL AND UNRELENTING SPIRIT, had renewed, and were persisting in, their demand of his oath;—that, they had finally apprised him of their determination, in case of his longer refusal, to enforce his compliance at the pagoda, BY MEANS OF A MILITARY FORCE;—and, under the harassing agitations of his mind in consequence, beseeching this Gentleman's advice how to act, under this new circumstance of his case.—His advice, generally, was, that in acquittance of a sacred duty to himself, he should persevere in his remonstrances; but that, failing in these, and the Board of Revenue executing THEIR MENACE, which was scarcely possible they would do, he should consider it as the

act of ARBITRARY POWER; and, as such, submit to it with the most perfect resignation and tranquillity of conscience."

I will not venture, Sir, to trespass longer upon your time. The accompanying paper will put you in possession of the sense entertained by Lord Hobart's administration, of my conduct and integrity, during nearly seventeen years of my public life; and of the opinion of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company upon the subject of the Oath EXTORTED from Rungah Pillah.

Should the points contained in this letter, require any illustration in my power to afford, I shall be happy to attend you, at any time you may please to appoint.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Gloucester Place, Portman Square,

W. C. JACKSON.

18th Feb. 1807.

TO WILLIAM RAMSAY, ESQ.

SECRETARY TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST
INDIA COMPANY.

SIR,—In consequence of the *ex parte* statement given to the public, in certain of the London Newspapers of the 12th of February last, I have been preparing a Case, for the consideration, in the first instance, of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company. Wishing to be very exact in respect to dates, and to ascertain that the quotations I have made, are correctly given, I take the liberty to urge a request, that I may have access to such of the records at the India House, as bear upon the subject—

* It is a curious fact, and worthy of notice, that Sir John Anstruther received this letter early in the morning of the 18th February 1807; and that in the afternoon of the same day the Lords of the Council petitioned his Majesty to decide against the United Company, whose conduct, (or, rather, the conduct of their servants) in regard to the "extorted oath," had been most severely reprobated.

matter of the case. A sense of justice, and a strict regard to truth, impel the present application. If my name had not been given to the public, connected with circumstances highly injurious to my moral character, I should not have judged it necessary to revive a subject, from which I had already suffered so much, both in mind and body.

It has been asserted, in the statement to which I have alluded, that "Presents" were received by me; and that statement, as far as the public is concerned, stands unrefuted.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Gloucester Place, Portman Square,

W. C. JACKSON.

3d Feb. 1808.

TO W. C. JACKSON, ESQ.

Sir,—I have laid your request, to have access to sundry records of the East-India Company, before the Committee of Correspondence; and I am directed to acquaint you, the Committee have resolved, *that the same be not complied with.*

I am, &c. &c.

East-India House,

W. RAMSAY,

25th Feb. 1808.

Secretary.

APPENDIX (A.)

TO THE HONORABLE THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA
COMPANY.

THE MEMORIAL

OF

WILLIAM COLLINS JACKSON, Esq.

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS FROM THE YEAR 1790 TO 1797, AND AFTERWARDS SUPERINTENDENT AND COLLECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN POLYGAR PROVINCES OF THE CARNATIC,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your Memorialist has heard, with a pleasure and satisfaction which he is unable to describe, that your Honorable Court are no longer in any doubt respecting the public conduct of your Memorialist, during the long extended period of his services in India.—You are, at length, convinced, that he has suffered in the cause of the Company; and that, to a rigid and faithful performance of his duty must be placed, all the injuries which have come upon him; and which, nothing but the consciousness of his integrity, and the moral certainty of ultimate redress, could have enabled him to sustain.

Your Memorialist was right in believing that such a case as came before you, in his official representation of the 30th December 1809, could not fail to impress upon the mind of every honorable and impartial person who should see it, a due sense of the mischiefs resulting from the exercise of lawless power—where tyranny, oppression, and falsehood were practically enforced, for the destruction of a servant of the public, whose only fault, if fault it were, arose out of the ardency of his zeal, to be one of the foremost, in stemming the torrent of corruption; and in forcing the barrier, behind which, usury and extortion had long taken ground, in defiance of all your orders, and in contempt of all the acts of the British Legislature.

This was the fault of your Memorialist, and, for this, he fell, *as well he might*; for although one of the most able of your Governors had traced the monster to its den, even *he* shrunk from the danger of a nearer approach. “I have forborne,” he said, “to bring forward the names of individuals, not because I am not able to do so, but because the subject is above personal considerations.”

It would not have been necessary for your Memorialist to have entered so fully into the “History of the Extorted Oath,” as he did in his official representation of the 30th December 1809, had he been aware that you had previously viewed the transaction in its true bearings; and had expressed your sentiments, without reserve, to the party who forced the oath. It was not until the 17th day of October 1810, that your Memorialist was acquainted with those sentiments, which, if it had been your pleasure to make known to him at an earlier period, would have spared him the pain and trouble of tracing his enemies, through all the iniquity of that impious transaction.

In your judicial letter to Fort St. George, dated the 13th May 1807, the second paragraph is as follows:—

“On perusal of the proceedings, in the cause instituted in the Supreme Court at your Presidency, by Rungah Pillah against us, in which both parties appealed, as mentioned in your judicial letter of the 16th October 1804, we were much surprised at the very

arbitrary manner which had been pursued towards that man by the Board of Revenue, under the immediate direction of the Governor in Council. We could not but highly disapprove of the irregularity of almost every step, and we were particularly displeased at the breach of faith towards him, in insisting upon his swearing to the truth of his statement, after he had chosen, on an option offered to him, to pay the money charged to have been received by him, rather than take the oath required of him.* Such conduct will always incur our displeasure.

It is known to your Honorable Court, by evidence of undisputed and undoubted authority, that "the breach of faith" so justly reprobated by you, was done for the express purpose of finding an occasion, wherewith to accuse your Memorialist of corruption—that the accusation, founded upon this very breach of faith, was distinctly preferred in the official dispatches from the Government of Madras, bearing date the 9th of October 1800, and remained for examination and inquiry, by those who were ultimately to judge and decide, until the 4th day of May 1803, when, happily, for the cause of Justice and of Truth, the parties so preferring the accusation, had been reluctantly compelled, in a Court of Judicature, and upon their solemn oaths, not only to retract their calumny, but to assert in the broad face of day, and to their utter shame and confusion, that every act of the public conduct of your Memorialist demonstratively proved, that he had never been corrupt.

Hence, it appears, that the accusation was preferred to your Honorable Court in the year 1800, when your Memorialist was in England, ignorant of the vile means pursued to "filch from him his good name;" and at a moment too, when he was in extreme ill health, brought upon him by the natural consequence of a tarnished reputation; and that, it was allowed to spread itself in all quarters, and in all directions, unchecked, unrefuted, and uncontrolled for many years, to the serious injury of his character, and to the total ruin of all his prospects.

* And himself, under a formal charge of corrupt and wilful perjury!

Under these circumstances, your Memorialist is desirous (now that you are thoroughly satisfied of the purity of his public conduct, from the testimony itself of his most cruel enemies) of drawing your attention to the losses *generally* which he has sustained “by an inflexible adherence to public duty;” and, in particular, to the loss of an annuity of four hundred pounds, which he has always considered, and ever must consider, to have been the immediate consequence of that most unjust and iniquitous attack upon his moral character, of which he has already made mention; for, if such an attack had not been made, the return of your Memorialist to India, would have been *speedy* and certain; and the annuity would have fallen to him, as a matter of positive right, many years ago: Whereas, by the “PROCRASTINATION” which your Honorable Court fully admit did take place, your Memorialist was absolutely precluded, by an event not within the power of man to control, from the possibility of a return to India, within the time limited by Act of Parliament.

Your Memorialist, with great deference and respect, now proceeds to establish this important fact.

On the 8th of May 1801, when your Memorialist had been from India about two years, he stated by letter to your Honorable Court that he had heard, *through a private channel*, of the attack which had been made upon his honor and character, by certain persons then in power and office at Madras; and he humbly appealed to your justice, to be furnished with a copy of the charges, to the ~~and~~ that he might not be condemned, until at least, he had been heard in his defence. To this appeal, equally modest and respectful, your Memorialist never received any reply.

On the 16th of November 1802, when your Memorialist had been about three years and a half from India, he again made a similar appeal; which again met with a similar result. On this occasion, he expressed himself to your Honorable Court, in the following terms:—

“On the 8th day of May 1801, I took the liberty of preferring a request to your Honorable Court, for copies of all the documents

having relation to, and upon which the charges brought against me by your Government at Fort St. George, had been founded.

"I felt persuaded that your Honorable Court would find no difficulty in acceding to this request, since, without a knowledge of the particular nature of those documents, and of the observations and opinions to which they might have given birth, it would be impossible for me to enter into that sort of defence, which should embrace every object, and render my justification ample and complete. I stated at the same time that, with these materials, I should be enabled to lay before you a plain statement of facts, which would not only place the subject in a true point of view, but furnish abundant grounds, for a just and impartial decision.

"I have not been honored with any reply from your Honorable Court to this application: But, as circumstances are situated, I deem it necessary to go, at once, into a justification of my conduct; and although I have not had an opportunity of seeing any of the papers transmitted from India, and of course cannot speak to them in the way that would be most beneficial to myself, I am fully satisfied, if it should so happen, that my reputation is not complete in every point, your Honorable Court will enable me to complete it, by acceding to the request which I have had the honor to make. I know not, indeed, to what extent accusation has reached, nor where it is intended it should stop. But, if my accusers have done no more than what was their duty to do, in the representations they have made of my conduct, to their superiors and mine—if they have not "set down aught in malice," though they have extenuated nothing—if they have not stretched their inferences, nor drawn their conclusions, beyond what the state of the case fairly warranted—in a word, if there has been no attempt to mislead the judgment of your Honorable Court, then I stand with them upon equal grounds. If they have done more, I cannot speak to it at present, for I am unacquainted with it. Of the charges brought against me, Report has been loud and vehement—almost every importation for these last three years, has produced a cargo of fresh accusation—suspicion has been kept alive by this novel proceeding, and it is probable that not a few have pro-

nounced my condemnation, because I have said nothing to justify myself. It has long been the most anxious wish of my heart to reach the period of this controversy; and I am sure it will be granted to me, that I have not manifested the smallest reluctance to meet inquiry. I must now seek it, for although it was my wish to withhold the disclosure of particular circumstances, until I could be possessed of all that might be urged against me; yet, I shall wave the advantage that this would give me, in order to put an end to that suspense, under which I have so long labored.*

On the 4th of May 1803, when your Memorialist had been *four years and two months from India*, and laboring the whole of the time under a stigmatized character, your Honorable Court came to the resolution of entering upon the consideration of the case, assigning, specifically, as a reason for not having entered upon it at an earlier period, that the discussions had extended to such a length, "*that you had experienced no inconsiderable labor and difficulty, in bringing your minds to the formation of a clear and decisive opinion thereon.*"

After an examination of the entire case, your Honorable Court concluded the subject, in the following words:—

"In consideration, however, of the considerable length of time, in which a decision upon Mr. Jackson's conduct has remained in a state of suspense, during which he must have experienced great anxiety of mind—considering also, *how long he has been kept out of any employment*, in consequence of such procrastination, we have resolved to permit Mr. Jackson to return to your Presidency, should he make application to us for that purpose, without prejudice to his rank."

On the 22d of June 1803, your Memorialist made application to the Chairman of your Honorable Court, for a copy of the resolutions, and stated his intention of returning to his duty in the service.

* When the letter here noticed, was laid before the Court, Sir Francis Baring rose, and said, "That it was an act of the most gross injustice, that Mr. Jackson's case had been suffered to remain for so many years in suspense." He is gone, but the proof remains.

On the 19th day of July 1803, your Honorable Chairman transmitted to your Memorialist, a copy of the resolutions bearing date the 4th of May of that year; and on the 30th of the following month, your Memorialist was under the painful but indispensable necessity of addressing an official letter to your Honorable Court, setting forth that, a circumstance had occurred, in respect to his family, " of so afflicting a nature," as to render it absolutely necessary that he should continue in England, until the following season; but it was not until the 16th day of February 1804, when he had been from India *upwards of four years and eleven months*, (and without the option of returning, until within a few months of the expiration of that period, and then only by the violation of every domestic feeling,) that the Secretary of your Honorable Court answered the letter of your Memorialist, dated the 30th of August 1803, and stated that if he, your Memorialist, remained in England beyond the 6th of the following month, (that is to say, *eighteen days* from the date of the Secretary's letter,) it would not be in your option to permit him to return.

From this detail of recorded facts, your Memorialist trusts to the candour, liberality, and enlightened judgment of your Honorable Court, to acquit him of overstepping the bounds of a sound discretion, by carrying his views to the full expectation of finding, on the part of your Honorable Court, a ready and cordial disposition to afford relief, for the heavy losses which he has sustained, " through an inflexible adherence to public duty," in the service of the East India Company; and the more especially, as the conduct of your Memorialist, in the suppression and eradication of " usurious loans," the cause and consequence of all his sufferings and losses, has at length met with, and called forth, the full and perfect approbation of every good man, to whom such conduct is known.

And your Memorialist, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

W. C. JACKSON.

Gloucester Place, Portman Square, 7th December 1810.

APPENDIX (B.)

THE PRESIDENT'S MINUTE, IN COUNCIL, AT MADRAS, THE 24TH OCTOBER 1795.

1. The proposed arrangements which have been brought into discussion, since the death of his Highness the Nabob, Wallaujah, make it necessary for me to advert with more minuteness than has been usual upon the Public Records, to the system on which the administration of his revenues has been conducted; because it manifestly shews the necessity of that change, which it is my object to accomplish—both in respect to the country itself, which, though under the immediate control of his Highness, it is the duty of this Government, in a general point of view, to cherish and protect; and in respect to the security which has been pledged to the Company for the support of their Military Establishments, and for the discharge of the consolidated debts guaranteed by Parliament to the private creditors of his Highness the Nabob, I shall, therefore in this Minute lay before the Board the information I have collected, and the consequent observations which have occurred to me upon the usurious loans, which it has long been the practice, principally among the European Gentlemen of the Presidency, to make to the Durbar, for mortgages upon the different provinces of the Carnatic: and here I may be allowed to express my belief, that, though the Honorable Court of Directors have been extremely pointed in their orders and observations against this practice, the continuance of it has been owing, in some measure, to the want of that candid exposition of the fact, which it is my intention to make.

2. The southern districts of the Nabob's country, and Tinnevely in particular, as being the most distant from the Presidency, have

been the theatre in which these scenes have been chiefly exhibited ; but it is notorious that similar practices have been introduced, and are now actually in use in Nellore, Arcot, and Trichinopoly.

3. The transaction commences at Madras, where the Kists of his Highness are payable, and is opened by an agreement between the Nabob and some one of the principal houses of business, or even some of the Company's servants, for the payment of a certain sum into the treasury, on account of his Highness's public engagements.

4. The advancers of this money, knowing from experience, that a single mortgage would be insufficient security, unless the means of reimbursing themselves, should be placed in their own hands, find it necessary not only that a person of their own nomination should be appointed to the management of the mortgaged province, but that there should be a vigilant superintendence, and a powerful support of the concern, upon the spot: hence the expediency of a connection between them, AND THE MILITARY COMMANDING OFFICER IN THE DISTRICT: he also finds it advantageous to embark in the speculation, because he adds thereby considerable weight to his own interest, and because it facilitates the means of raising money to carry on his part of the concern. From this connection, both parties derive ample security for their money, by the absolute power of the one in command upon the spot, and by the weighty influence of the other, in command of monied interest at Madras.

5. This outline is filled up by a farther connexion with the person who appears to receive the appointment of Amuldar or Manager, from the Nabob: hence, it is either stipulated, that a person chosen by the money lenders at Madras, shall be nominated to manage the district; or, where men of rank have already been appointed as Foujdars, by his Highness, the same effect is produced by a communication between him, the Commanding Officer, and the money lenders, previous to the agreement for a loan at the Durbar. The combination is, in this latter case completed, by the appointment of a Tassildar, on the part of the money lenders, and thenceforward produces a uniform, consistent, and connected operation.

6. His Highness having, by this arrangement, obtained his principal object, provision for the payment of his Kist, without any immediate disbursement from himself, delivers his people and his province up to the control and power of the Manager, evidently without regard to their situation; because as his terms with the money lenders necessarily provide for the removal of all restraint from the governing power, so he must expect that the Manager, who can have no interest in the future prosperity of the country, will have recourse to every means by which he may hope to bear himself and his connexions harmless, and that within the shortest time possible.

7. The interest allowed by the Circar, varies in different places, and depends not a little upon the influence which the lender may happen to have at the Durbar. At a medium, however, it may be stated at four per cent. per month, besides the pay of all the servants employed by the *Junto* in recovering the revenue. This last charge is always a fixed sum at the expense of the Nabob, considerably above the actual expense incurred by the Tassildar; and the difference is considered amongst the customary advantages of the concern.

8. The Manager, arrived within his district, immediately assembles his under Managers, Amuldars, and Renters; and then ensues the second part of this oppressive system. The Tassildar is importunate, and the Manager must find means of satisfying his demands. Subordinate Soucars, Native as well as European, are called upon for assistance.

9. The Soucar makes his advance, and in the first instance the Aumildar or Renter of the district assigned over as security for such advance, grants his bond until other securities shall be forthcoming: these are, either the bonds of the inhabitants or grain. In time, about three-fourths of the sum are secured to the Soucar by grain made over to him, and placed under charge of his servants; and for the other one-fourth, the bonds of the inhabitants are made over for that part of the revenue payable by them to the Circar in ready money, upon the cultivation of dry grain, &c. These are frequently forced from them at the com-

mentement of the season, which consequently compels them to anticipate the crops, and to pay interest upon money before it is due from them.

10. At this period of the transaction, the Soucar sends his servants and peons into the country, with an order from the Nabob's Manager to the guards placed therein, to afford every assistance, (as it is generally called) but in fact, to obey them implicitly in collecting the amount of the bonds from the inhabitants. Anxiety to secure so precarious a property, naturally leads the Soucar to adopt such measures as power enables him, and the custom of the country authorizes.

11. Then follows this process. If the Ryot is dilatory in the discharge of his bond, he is confined without victuals, beaten with rods, and compelled to pay batta to those very peons and guards, who are the means of his confinement and punishment. In this manner, I am credibly informed that an inhabitant, who grants his bond for one hundred chuckrums, is compelled, before he is released from the consequences, to pay from one hundred and ten to one hundred and fifteen chuckrums, according to circumstances. If his credit or his other means are exhausted, which is too often the case, he must necessarily dispose of some part of his stock, which consists of cattle, and seed grain.

12. The first part of the system which I have stated, describes the original cause at the fountain head. The second comprizes the detail which springs out of it. In both, the consideration of the means which is immediately employed, and of the effect which it may produce upon the future revenue, is abandoned; and while the grand mover of these effects is at a distance from the scene, and the subordinate instrument is hardened by practice, CONSCIENCE IS LULLED TO REST BY THE DELUSIVE OPIATE OF "INTEREST UPON INTEREST."

13. Thus far I have traced the progress of a loan secured upon the bond of the inhabitants. It will not be less painful for me to pursue it to the disposal of the puddy.

14. The first endeavour of those who are engaged in a concern of this nature, is to enhance the price of grain by artificial means,

lest the ordinary price of that article, the sole subsistence of the natives, should fail to answer the large advance of money, and the exorbitant advantage expected upon it by the Soucar. The means of effecting this purpose are easy, for the necessitous condition of the Ryots compels them to dispose of their grain, as soon as it comes into their possession, in order to satisfy the urgent demands upon them, which I have already described. The purchasers of this grain monopolize it, until the demand, which encreases with the consumption, advances the price. If towards the expiration of the season, any part of the grain should yet remain on hand, the expedient is to divide the whole quantity, in whatever condition it may be, among the inhabitants, and to force it upon them by Guddyam. This Guddyam it appears, compels the people (in general the manufacturers) to receive grain at a valuation considerably above the market price, and it would seem to be of ancient establishment and current practice; for in the agreement which I was successful in negotiating with his late Highness the Nabob Wallaujab, for placing a portion of the Tinnevely weavers under the immediate superintendence of the Company's Resident, his Highness has expressly reserved, nor could he be prevailed upon to relinquish the right of his Circar, to exercise this Guddyam.

16. The inferior servants of the Circar, whose duty should be to watch over the public interests, are placed under the arbitrary controul of the money lenders, without whose permission not an Anna can be expended, nor a measure of grain issued, except by stealth. Indeed, I understand that upon the arrival of a Soucar, or his Representative, in a mortgaged district, the usual custom is to notify his authority throughout the villages, and to prohibit the expenditure of grain or money, but by his order. This prohibition extends to the ordinary charges of pagodas, maniaums, and sibbendy; and when an order is granted from the Sudder Cutcherry for any of these purposes, the persons receiving the Sunnud, must wait at the Cutcherry of the money lender, for a confirmation of his right.

16. Instead of receiving relief by Tucavy, (or advances for cultivation,) at the proper season, by which to replace their cattle, and to provide seed for extending their cultivation, the inhabitants are often obliged to sacrifice both to their own immediate wants, and the rapacity of the Soucar : of course, no system of regulation can prevail, and every hope of improvement must be relinquished. Some of the means for enhancing the price of grain, I have already related ; but the subject is exhaustless. The Polygars have been prevented by the Manager of Tinnevely, from selling within the Circar lands, the grain which is allowed them for Deshacowel, (or watching fees,) and I should hesitate to advance, if I was not supported by the authority of public record, that during a late scarcity of grain in the Southern provinces, Eitabar Cawn, the Nabob's Manager, had the hardiness to write a public complaint to the Company's Collector against the Polygars, for selling grain to the inhabitants. Nor was the evil removed without the interposition of this Government, who, by sending vessels loaded with grain, induced the monopolizers, from regard to their own interests, to restore their usual supplies to the market ; yet did the Company not escape the effects of this monopoly, for they were reduced to the necessity of purchasing grain at the price to which the monopolizers had raised it, for the subsistence of those troops who were stationed there, for the protection of his Highness's territories.

17. After this exposition, no comment can be required to shew that this species of government, if it deserves the name of government, contains the most grievous oppression of the people, the certain impoverishment of the country, and consequently the inevitable decay of revenue ; but it will be useful to shew the particular manner in which it affects the resources of his Highness the Nabob.

18. It is estimated, and I believe not with exaggeration, that the province of Tinnevely alone, is annually mortgaged upon the terms I have described, to the amount of three lacks of pagodas ; and calculating the period for which interest is paid upon the

whole sum at six months, the amount of interest at four per cent.
per month, is - - - - - Pagodas 72,000

The charges paid by the Circar for the sibbendy of the
money-lenders during that period, cannot amount to
less than - - - - - 3,000

The amount loss therefore to the Circar on this trans-
action, is - - - - - Pagodas 75,000

19. That an individual gentleman should, in less than three years, amass a fortune of more than fifty thousand pounds, would be a matter of wonder, if this statement did not at the same time afford a solution of the difficulty, and a proof of its own correctness.

20. But the scene is not closed here. Besides the dealings of the principal Soucars with the head manager, there are subordinate transactions of a similar nature among the inferior officers, who possess but smaller means for usurious practices, amounting in all, perhaps from fifty thousand to a lack of pagodas. This brings an additional expense upon the Circar, because interest is allowed on all advances made by the Renters, on pressing occasions, before the Kists are due; and on the other hand, the inhabitants are not exempt from a part of this expense, which is imposed upon them by fine, forfeiture, or guddyam, in order that the Renter may be enabled to make the advance, upon which he receives interest.

21. As the Manager is under engagements to pay the fullest computed value of the district, he is justified, according to the custom of the country, in availing himself of every possible resource. A proportion of the church allowances is withheld; the pay of all descriptions of servants is kept in long arrear; and in particular, the Sibbendy Sepoys. A small advance indeed is sometimes made for subsistence, but their principal resource, (and it is not unproductive,) is in the Batta, which they receive by acknowledged practice, while doing the duty of Sezawuls, and

in the dexterous management of the power which that source gives them, to extort presents for their forbearance. The Manager knows from experience that in the event of assuming the country, the English Government will be induced, from motives of humanity, to attend to the calls of these unhappy people or from motives of policy, to satisfy the clamours of a mutinous and undisciplined rabble. Thus at the very time when the exigencies of government become most pressing, a part of their resources, which ought to be immediate, is appropriated to the liquidation of arrears.

22. If this is a true history of the present management, it may be asked, why an immediate and large defalcation of the revenue does not follow; for the operation of such a system as I have described, tends directly to the point of ruin. Nothing less than the hand of arbitrary power could avert it even for a time. In proportion as the means of cultivation decreases, the price of grain is enhanced; and it is a notorious but inhuman maxim of Eastern finance, that a year of scarcity is more productive than a year of plenty to the Circar; because as a given number of mouths can only consume a proportionate quantity of grain, the immediate advantage or disadvantage of Government arises from the price at which that given quantity is sold. In years of plenty, the superfluous grain is in a great measure useless, owing to the partial and difficult means of exportation. In years of scarcity, the same given quantity is required for the subsistence of the people; and as the demand is greater than the supply, an increase of the price is produced, by the usual effects of a competition in the market.

23. Though the dealings of Soucars in the collection of revenue are not of recent establishment, yet the terms of loans have never been carried to so usurious an extent, as since the practice has been introduced among EUROPEANS. And though the inevitable effects of it may be protracted by the harsh expedients of an arbitrary government, yet no man who reflects upon such a system can doubt that the resources of the country have been undermined; that the wealth of the people is exhausted; and that a principle

of decline has been established, which is now precipitating the Carnatic, with accumulated weight and rapidity, to destruction.

24. Impressed as I am with a serious conviction of this truth, I cannot but look with extreme anxiety to the nature of the security, provided by the treaty of 1792, for these resources, on which the British interests on the Coast of Coromandel materially depend. I cannot but see that the present system of collecting the revenues of the Carnatic manifestly invalidates that security, and that whenever a failure may happen in the payment of his Highness's Kists, we shall in vain have recourse to it for the recovery of the defalcation. As those payments, though avowedly moderate in their extent, are now kept up by the extraordinary means which I have described, so it is reasonable to suppose that a failure, whenever it may happen, will arise from the total impoverishment of the people. In taking possession of a district, under such circumstances, for the amount of a Kist which will then have fallen in arrear, we shall, instead of finding the immediate means of reimbursement, become charged with an exhausted country, requiring all the liberal assistance and fostering attention of a lenient and indulgent government. It is not only that our means will be curtailed at our greatest need, but that humanity and policy will call upon us for advances of money, at a time when our expenses will be most burthensome. This is an embarrassment from which the known resources of this Government are unequal to extricate us, and it is a dilemma unprovided for by the treaty of 1792; for the objects of that treaty are—the payment of a debt guaranteed by Parliament, which we are not at liberty to postpone; and the discharge of military pay, which cannot be interrupted without danger to the State.

25. To avert the consequences of an evil big with such imminent danger, is an object that merits the most serious, as well as the most unwearied attention of this Government; and it is a matter of very great mortification to me, that seeing the progress of this calamity, and anticipating as I do its pestiferous effects, I AM COMPELLED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE MEANS OF ARRESTING ITS COURSE, ARE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT.

The prohibitory orders hitherto published, have all failed of their object, because the evasion of them is easy to Europeans, through the agency of their native servants; and because the enormous profits which arise from these usurious loans, hold out an irresistible temptation to adventurers. To prohibit the intercourse of Europeans at the Durbar is ineffectual. Other channels of communication are open; and the superintendent of an usurious loan at Palamcottah, conveys his demands to the ears of the Nabob with no less certainty than he who lives in the precincts of Chepauk. As long therefore as his Highness shall be so regardless of his true interest as to deliver up his provinces and his people to public depredation, so long will there be found men, who, in the pursuit of extravagant advantages, will overstep the bounds of discretion, and of moral obligation.

26. So desperate a malady requires a remedy that shall reach its source; and I have no hesitation in stating my opinion, that there is no mode of eradicating the disease, but by removing the original cause, and placing those districts, which are pledged for the security of his Kists, beyond the reach of his Highness's management. The disposition which his Highness has already evinced to oppose such an arrangement, leaves me in no doubt of the real cause. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CALCULATE THE EXTENT AND VARIETY OF INTERESTS WHICH ARE INVOLVED IN THIS ONE PURSUIT; AND THOUGH THEY ARE SUBDIVIDED IN EVERY DIRECTION OF THE CARNATIC, YET AT THE CALL OF DANGER, THEY ALL RALLY ROUND A COMMON CENTER. THE GREAT HOUSES OF BUSINESS, WHO ARE THE PRINCIPAL MONEY-LENDERS AT THE DURBAR, BORROW FROM INDIVIDUALS, WHO THOUGH NOT ABSOLUTELY ENGAGED IN THE LOAN ITSELF, ARE PARTAKERS OF THE SPECULATION IN A REMOTE DEGREE; AND FEEL WITH NO LESS SENSIBILITY THAN THEIR PRINCIPALS, THE APPROACH OF DANGER: SIMILARITY OF INTEREST MAKES IT A COMMON CAUSE, AND THE GREAT BODY OF INFLUENCE WHICH IS CONDENSED UPON THIS PRINCIPLE, IS UNIFORMLY EXERTED TO SUPPORT HIS HIGHNESS THE NABOB, IN AN INFLEXIBLE

RESISTANCE AGAINST A MELIORATION OF SYSTEM; AND TO OPPOSE A REFORMATION, WHICH I CONSIDER ESSENTIAL TO THE NATIONAL WELFARE.

27. In the proposition which I have made to his Highness the Nabob, I am aware that I offered great sacrifices on the part of the Company; but with the impression of those evils I have stated strongly upon my mind, I could not but consider the object I had in view, above every idea of a pecuniary nature, even if the system of the Nabob's Government was not in itself calculated completely to annihilate every source of revenue.

(Signed)

HOBART

APPENDIX (C.)

THE PRESIDENT'S MINUTE IN COUNCIL AT MADRAS.

24th November 1795.

1. Intrusted with the government of the Company's affairs upon the Coast, it is my duty, not merely to look to that temporary prosperity which an increase in their revenues, and the manifest improvement of their commercial concerns is calculated to afford; but considering their permanent interest as the substantial object of every Administration to point out defects in their system, and more particularly if they are of a nature tending to undermine their resources, and contribute, in an alarming degree, to the insecurity of their possessions. Under this conviction, the Minute, to which the opinions I am now offering may be deemed supplementary, has been submitted.

2. The Treaty of 1792, entered into by Lord Cornwallis, on the part of the Company, and the Nabob Wallaujah, appears to have embraced three objects; viz. the discharge of the Nabob's private consolidated debts—provision for a military establishment in time of peace—and an arrangement to supply resources for a period of hostility, the Company binding themselves for a stipulated sum, (nine lacks of pagodas,) to furnish a sufficient military force for the defence of the Carnatic; and the Nabob engaging to pay a certain subsidy, under a guarantee of landed security, whereby a proportion of the revenues of the Carnatic was mortgaged for the execution of the provisions of the Treaty; and therefore so long as the Company fulfil the conditions on their part, they have acquired an interest, and eventually a right of interference, to prevent the declension of

those revenues, to the extent of their being rendered inadequate to the security for which they have been pledged.

3. As they can have no claim, and, notwithstanding the increase of their military expenses, have made none, under any circumstances, for calling upon the Nabob to augment his stipulated payments; so, on the other hand, under a liberal and equal construction of the treaty, they would be justified in imposing their authority, to guard against a positive deficiency, in the appropriated resources.

4. Was the security in bullion, or moveables of any kind, an attempt to transport it out of the reach of the Company, even during a period that no defalcation had arisen in the payment of the Kists, would probably be resisted, if necessary, by force.

5. The difference in the case now under discussion is, that whatever diminution, (and it is considerable,) in value, the security is gradually, though rapidly sustaining, comes along with it the destruction of the human race, and the desolation of the country.

6. The treaty is formed upon a well-founded presumption, that the districts specified therein, are capable, either in the hands of the Company, or of the Nabob, of producing revenues competent to the purpose for which they are given as security; but that security becomes nugatory, if the excessive deterioration of it shall not be deemed a virtual violation of the treaty, and warrant the adoption of measures, with a view to avert the injurious effects of such deterioration.

7. If we look back to the origin of the treaty of 1792, we shall find that it arose from the representations of the Nabob Wallaujah, that, without imposing burthens on his people, which they were not able to bear, he could not make the payments to the Company, stipulated for in the treaty of 1787: but he had no sooner prevailed upon the Government to acquiesce in a reduction of those payments, which he effected by the treaty of 1792, than by the manner in which he carried the provisions of it into execution, he increased the miseries of his people ten-fold, and defeated every humane and salutary object

it was intended to attain. Should the principle I have laid down be deemed insufficient to warrant a revision, and even a compulsory modification of the treaty, the open and notorious violation of it on the part of the Nabob, by granting, without the authority of Government, tuncahs and assignments upon the mortgaged districts, contrary to an express article of it, would indisputably justify such measures as might be thought advisable for the security of the Company; and, in my opinion, calls upon the Court of Directors to issue such orders as may be best calculated to guard the interests of their constituents, from so alarming and extensive an evil.

8. Under such an impression, I have ventured to make a proposition to the Nabob, offering great, but in my mind, necessary sacrifices on the part of the Company, for the accomplishment of an object, connecting their substantial interests with the welfare of the people of the Carnatic. To those who may think the sacrifice too great, I would observe, that the realization of the sums proposed to be relinquished, (probably above thirty lacs of pagodas) under the present system, is a phantom, that may be held up to their view, but must for ever disappoint their expectations.

9. The advantages to the Nabob, as well as to the Company, in the plan I have suggested, are obvious. During the period of hostility, an increase of revenue, arising from an improved management, would be an essential resource to the government, in which his highness would participate, from the receipt of a proportional addition to his fifth of the whole produce; whilst in peace, the benefit would be exclusively his. Under existing circumstances, the Company sustain no loss, except in the extinction of the inhabitants of the Carnatic; but in the arduous season of war, they must experience the most serious defalcations.

10. It has been with the deepest regret, that I have found the Nabob unmoved by entreaties and remonstrances upon this

subject; not that he has been insensible to the justice and expediency of what I have proposed; but, as he has candidly confessed at several interviews with me, that he has not the resolution to comply: Informing me that his native ministers, AND EUROPEAN ADVISERS, so perplexed, plagued, and intimidated him, that he could not venture upon the measure, notwithstanding his conviction that he ought to do so.

11. In my minute of the 24th ultimo, I went into a full explanation of the mischiefs, resulting from the *pernicious practice of usurious loans*. I traced the *iniquitous system* through all its intricacies, and exposed a detail of *oppression and rapine*, not less offensive to humanity than destructive of public property, and ruinous to the permanent interests of the Carnatic. The operation, however, of this system, is not confined to the subjects of his Highness; it takes a wider range, and affects, in a sensible degree, the public credit of the Company—for a very large proportion of the specie in circulation, being applied to the uses of the Nabob, at an exorbitant interest, Government are forced into the measure of depreciating their own paper, in order to raise funds adequate to the exigencies of the state.

12. The persons concerned with the Durbar, from the immense profit they reap, are well able to afford to raise money at twelve per cent. the legal interest of the Country; and to lodge ample security for the debt; and hence it is that the Company are driven to the necessity of increasing the rate of interest upon their own paper, in order to supply their immediate wants. The effects of these usurious loans upon the commercial interests of the Country, as well as every national improvement which would require a capital, are most lamentable. No trade can stand a competition with such exorbitant profits, when the practice which so generally prevails, with the Eastern Princes, of hoarding up every pagoda they can lay hold of, is superadded to the various corroding evils that have been stated, it would seem that such a complicated system of ruin and devastation, was without a precedent in the annals of the world.

13. Had the treaty of 1792 been adhered to with that good faith which the British Nation had a right to expect from his Highness the Nabob, the Country would have found in it a source of increasing prosperity; since by its wise provisions, a considerable portion of the Carnatic was exonerated from those private assignments, which have ever been productive of such oppression and distress to the Inhabitants.

14. To the violation therefore of the treaty may be attributed those evils, which have been so fully set forth, and which loudly demand instant eradication.

15. The situation of the Tanjore Country, from precisely the same causes, is still more desperate. It has recently been developed with an accuracy not to be questioned; by which it appears, that notwithstanding the Company consented, with a view to the Rajah's accommodation, to remit for the term of three years, more than one fifth of his annual payments, his Excellency is at this moment embarrassed with a debt of at least twelve lacks of pagodas; and when we consider there is an interest chargeable upon it of two and three per cent. per month, and that the whole Country is mortgaged for the payment, where are the means by which the Rajah will be enabled to fulfil his engagements to the Company, without ruin to his people?

16. Were I to attempt to describe the present state of the Tanjore Country, it would be little more than a repetition of what I have said respecting the Carnatic, since the same system prevails throughout, but, if possible, has been productive of a quicker progress to decay and impoverishment, in the Rajah's dominions. I have it therefore in contemplation, to authorize Mr. Macleod to propose to him to assign over to the Company the districts mortgaged for his stipulated payments, upon a footing similar to that, as far as circumstances will permit, which I have suggested in the arrangement relative to the Carnatic.

17. I must candidly acknowledge, that I am not sufficiently sanguine to expect that the influence which has operated to prevent the Nabob's concurrence, will not have equal effect with the Rajah. As precisely the same arguments, and the same urgency

apply to the one case, as the other, I trust an early remedy for both will be provided by the Court of Directors, and before the Countries are irretrievably ruined.

18. *The acts of the Legislature with respect to usurious bargains, the reiterated orders of the Company on the subject, and the iniquity of such transactions abstractedly considered, have had so little effect, that I scarcely know what to suggest, as a means of future prevention.* Possibly it might be attended with good consequences, if the Court of Directors were to order the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to take an oath, that in every case where, according to his or their belief, there shall be reason to suppose, that any servant of the Company, or person living under the Company's protection shall, subsequently to the publication of the orders in question, have been concerned directly or indirectly in any loan, or other money transaction, with any of the native powers, unless with the knowledge and express permission of Government, such servant of the Company, or person living under the Company's protection, shall be called before the Council Board, and examined upon oath, touching such supposed loan or money transaction; and in the event of such servant of the Company, or other person living under the Company's protection, refusing to answer to such questions as may be put to him, or not answering satisfactorily, so as to exculpate himself from all concern, directly or indirectly, in such loan or money transaction, he shall be sent to Europe by the first opportunity, for having been guilty of a disobedience of the orders of the Company, and punished accordingly. And with a view more effectually to check the mischief, I would recommend that a proclamation should be issued, inviting to the discovery of these nefarious transactions; and offering a reward to any one that should bring forward substantial proof, that such prohibited loans had been negotiated.

19. The pains, the trouble, the anxiety, and, above all, the pressure upon my personal feelings, arising from the investigation, and exposure of this subject in its true colours, must be a test to the Court of Directors, how important I consider it to their interests, as well as to the welfare of British India.

20. *I am aware of the numerous enemies who will start up against me for the part I have taken, but I have a shield in the consciousness of an honest execution of my duty, which blunts their arrows, and which will ultimately render all their efforts impotent and unavailable.*

21. I have forbore to bring forward the names of individuals, not because I am not able to do so, but because the subject is above personal considerations.

22. *Let those who have amassed wealth by such means, enjoy it as well as they can: Let it be my pride to have paid this tribute to suffering humanity, by deterring others from the commission of similar enormities.*

(Signed)

HOBART.

FINIS.
